DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 254 442 SO 016 240

AUTHOR Berman, Shelley; And Others
TITLE Making History: A Social Studies Curriculum in the Participation Series.
INSTITUTION Educators for Social Responsibility, Cambridge, MA.
SPONS AGENCY Deer Creek Foundation, St. Louis, MO.
PUB DATE Sep 84
NOTE 100p.; A project of the Boston area chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility. For other documents in the series, see SO 016 241-243.
AVAILABLE FROM Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 ($7.50, plus $2.50 postage and handling; 15% discount for 10 or more).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Change Strategies; *Citizen Participation; Critical Thinking; Decision Making; Learning Activities; Secondary Education; Social Action; Social Change; Social Problems; *Social Responsibility; *Social Studies; Student Participation; Teacher Developed Materials; Units of Study

ABSTRACT

One of a series of teacher-developed curriculum guides, this secondary level social studies guide is intended to encourage student participation and involvement in important social issues. The unit, which can be completed in four to six weeks or extended over a semester or year, begins by inviting students to explore reasons why it may seem difficult to have an influence in the world, times they have actually made a difference, and ways they can empower each other. Activities focus on group problem solving and development of student skills, confidence, and motivation to act upon issues of social concern. Next, students examine decision-making models as a means for deciding on an issue or problem they would like to work on. After choosing an issue, the class conducts research to broaden their understanding of the problem, to develop potential solutions, and to take a stand on the solution that represents their best collective thinking. Using a series of case studies, students then examine and critically evaluate tactics and strategies for creating change. Activities provide an outline for identifying who has influence in the problem area, what resources are available to meet the problem, and what student actions are possible. The unit ends with an assessment of students' efforts and with suggestions for expressing appreciation to people who provided assistance. Fourteen student handouts are included. (LH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED254442

MAKING HISTORY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Charlotte Keys
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

"Our actions send ripples toward future shores."

A Social Studies Curriculum
in the
PARTICIPATION SERIES

SO 016 240

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Development of
the Participation Series
has been made possible in part by
The Deer Creek Foundation,
St. Louis, Missouri

MAKING HISTORY

A SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN THE PARTICIPATION SERIES

BOSTON AREA
EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
11 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
(617) 492-8820

NATIONAL OFFICE
EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
23 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
(617) 492-1764

Copyright, September, 1984

THIS SERIES WAS A PROJECT OF
THE BOSTON AREA CHAPTER OF ESR

Writers:

Shelley Berman
Jo Corro
Elly Greene
Jim Hammerman
Vera Nordal
Rachel Poliner
Lally Stowell

Editors: Chris Austill, Shelley Berman, Susan Jones

Word Processing: Brian J. Anastasi

Secondary Project Coordinator: Rachel Poliner

PARTICIPATION Series Coordinator: Shelley Berman

FEEDBACK FORM

We see this book as a work in progress. Your comments, suggestions and additions will help us revise and improve its depth and quality. We would greatly appreciate your taking the time to share your reactions and any new ideas or materials.

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY/STATE/ZIP CODE ____________________

SCHOOL/ADDRESS ____________________

SUBJECT ____________________ AGE/GRADE LEVEL ____________________

1. Which sections of this guide did you use? Which did you find most successful?

2. Which activities worked well for you? Do you have suggestions for improving them?

3. Which activities worked poorly? How could they be improved? Should they be deleted?

4. Overall, how did students react to this material?

5. Did the overview and introductory article help you teach the activities?

6. Did you share this guide with others in your school? What was their reaction?

7. If you have written an activity or have an article that you think should be included please send it to us. Your contribution will be noted among the list of contributors in the next edition.

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY is a national, non-profit membership organization of educators, parents, and concerned individuals who believe that the nuclear age demands new approaches to education. ESR is committed to presenting divergent views in the classroom on nuclear issues, war, and peace; to dealing with young people's questions and fears about the threat of nuclear war; and to fostering citizen participation in decision making about the nuclear arms race. ESR researches students' attitudes toward nuclear issues, assesses educational materials, develops curricula, sponsors conferences and professional development programs, and provides speakers and consultation services.

We would like to thank the ESR members and other contributors listed on the facing page for giving generously of their time and talents to write this Curriculum Guide. They generated, shared, refined and put down on paper their ideas for the exploration and teaching of nuclear issues. For their commitment and efforts we are wholeheartedly grateful.

The next steps are yours. Use this Guide in whatever ways are most appropriate for you. Let us know, via the Feedback Form on the next page, how it worked for you and how we might improve it. And, most important, please join your efforts with ours!

Your membership dues will help make it possible for ESR to continue to develop new curriculum materials and educational programs. Your efforts to pass on information about ESR's programs and goals will strengthen the network of those committed to educating for social responsibility. And your active participation in projects such as this will enrich the resources ESR has to offer. PLEASE JOIN US!

Please mail this membership form to:
Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge MA 02138

_____ Yes! I support ESR and want to receive your newsletter. Enclosed is my $20 annual membership dues ($10 low income).

_____ I want to make a contribution of _____ to the national organization.

_____ I want to make a contribution of _____ to my local chapter.

_____ I would like to work on upcoming curriculum projects. Please keep me informed.

All dues and contributions are tax-deductible. 60% of your dues goes to your local chapter.

NAME ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY/STATE ____________________ ZIP ____________________

PHONE (home) ____________________ PHONE (work) ____________________

SCHOOL ____________________

GRADE LEVEL ____________________ SUBJECT ____________________

PREFACE

In 1981, a group of teachers came together around a shared concern about the effect on children of living in a nuclear age. From this group emerged an organization, Educators For Social Responsibility, whose goal is to provide materials, education, and support for teachers and students in dealing with this issue.

Through research conducted in classrooms over the past three years, ESR has found that students express as they get older a growing sense of powerlessness and even cynicism about the possibilities for any individual or group to help create a better world. They do not identify inspiring models of individuals and organizations who have made a difference. Many view government as indifferent to public opinion and the reins of government as beyond their reach. They do not see themselves as creators of policy, but rather as cogs in a wheel of inevitability. In light of these findings, of the low voter turnouts in recent elections, and of the growing apathy among the general public, we are addressing the question, "How can we best educate to encourage conviction, commitment, and participation?"

This PARTICIPATION series is a first step in responding to that question. During the winter of 1984, a group of Boston area ESR teachers began brainstorming what a curriculum on participation might look like. Over a six-month period of thinking, writing, rethinking, and rewriting, these teachers developed five short curriculum guides as a start toward an education for involvement and action. We submit these to you as our initial response to a question we believe will stay with us for the rest of our careers.

We can think of no more important educational effort than helping children find their power and their place in creating a safe and peaceful future. We realize that this will challenge and stretch us as teachers. As you use this series and develop ideas and materials of your own, we hope you will share with us the results of your efforts so that we will all continue to grow in our thinking. Creating this series was empowering for those who participated. We hope it will be empowering to those who use it. In the words of a friend, "Our actions send ripples toward future shores." We thank you for your concern and courage in taking up this challenge.

Shelley Berman
Coordinator, Boston Area ESR
PARTICIPATION Project Coordinator

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction . . . 1

Getting Started . . . 8
- A Preliminary Activity on Participation . . . 8
    - Handout 1: Democracy in (In)Action . . . 9
    - Handout 2: Your Vote Makes a Difference . . . 10
- Empowerment . . . 11
- Class Climate . . . 13
- Action Vignettes . . . 14
    - Handout 3: Youth Participation Projects . . . 15
- Researching Projects in Your Community . . . 19
- Generating Issues . . . 20
- Developing a Vision . . . 21
- Group Problem-Solving Exercises . . . 22

Decision Making . . . 28
- Looking at Modes for Making Decisions . . . 28
    - Handout 4: Decision-Making Models . . . 29
- Observing Decisions . . . 30
    - Handout 5: Observing a Group Decision . . . 31
- Decision Making . . . 32
    - Handout 6: How to Use Consensus . . . 34
- Choosing a Decision-Making Model . . . 36

Taking Action . . . 37
- Choosing an Issue . . . 37
- Researching the Issue . . . 41
- Case Histories: Resources for Developing a Strategy . . . 44
    - Handout 7: Saving a Forest . . . 46
    - Handout 8: Shared Living . . . 54
    - Handout 9: Crime Watch . . . 55
    - Handout 10: The Organizer's Tale -- Cesar Chavez . . . 57
    - Handout 11: Student Freeze Campaign . . . 65
    - Handout 12: Profile of a Peacemaker: Dr. Martin Luther King . . . 73
- Developing a Strategy . . . 78
    - Who has Power? Who has Responsibility? . . . 78
    - What are the Obstacles? What are Our Resources? . . . 79
    - Organizing for Action . . . 80
        - Handout 13: How to Get Things Done . . . 81
    - Creating Possibilities for Action . . . 83
        - Handout 14: A Range of Actions . . . 85
    - Outlining a Plan and Practicing . . . 87
    - Carrying Out the Plan . . . 88
- Overall Debriefing, Assessment and Appreciation . . . 89

Conclusion . . . 90

INTRODUCTION

What we do matters. It matters to those who love us. It matters to those with whom we work and play. It matters to us and speaks to the image we have of our integrity. And, what we do matters to the world as it is now, as well as to how it will be in the future. Each of our actions -- and our failures to act -- sets in motion a steady series of ripples through our environment and our lives. This is a simple concept. Yet it is so difficult for us to feel our individual impact in a world of bureaucracy, mass production and consumption, and ever-increasing complexity and hierarchy. Our problems seem overwhelming -- the possibility of nuclear war, the population explosion, environmental degradation, poverty, crime -- and often we feel quite powerless before them. Even on a personal level, we feel little control over the circumstances surrounding us. Within this environment we receive little encouragement for, and more often a great deal of resistance to, exerting control and making a difference in the world. We often shrink back into ourselves and our immediate world. When we experience this sense of impotence, we look at the world around us with anger, cynicism, and sadness. And so we live with both a knowledge of our importance and a sense of our insignificance. Our children and our students are growing up in the shadow of this apparent contradiction. How we help them make sense of their importance, their power, and the impact of their actions will either encourage their active participation in the world or their retreat from its awesomeness.

As teachers, we initiated this project because we firmly believe that we do make a difference and that we can, both individually and collectively, assume responsibility for creating a better future. We began by exploring how we could best confront our students' sense of powerlessness. Two questions helped focus our explorations: How can we best educate to encourage conviction, participation, and commitment to making a difference in the world; and, if a major goal of education is to empower citizens to make independent judgments, to take thoughtful responsibility for vital decisions in the world around them, and to work effectively with others to bring about a just and peaceful world, what should our schools, classrooms, and curriculum look like?

In our explorations, we realized that there is a central theme to the many ways to educate for participation. This essential quality is providing students with direct experiences of active questioning and genuine participation in the real-life processes around them. Students need to experience themselves as unique, responsible participants whose opinions are respected and whose actions make a difference. To accomplish this, we can structure our classrooms to give students an active voice. We can make the links between the content they are studying and the issues and problems around them. In addition, we can encourage students to enter the "real world" and find ways to make a difference.

Much remains to be explored in the search for education which empowers students. Can we, for example, create history classes in which we teach how change has been created and how individuals and groups have worked to make the world a better place? Can we create economics classes in which students critically examine our economy and formulate possible solutions to our economic problems? Can we create sociology classes in which the issues of justice are examined as more than just textbook accounts? Whatever the subject, can we give students opportunities to enter into the decision-making process in the classroom? And, can we provide them with some points of entry into the world beyond the classroom?

This guide represents a first step, a unit which focuses on helping students approach real problems. In Making History, students identify an issue or problem they would like to work on, research the problem, and then develop and implement a plan of action to address the problem. In doing this, the class functions as a community working together on an important concern and has the opportunity to make a difference. Because of the variety of issues available, we have attempted to distill out a process which will effectively meet the needs of most classes. The unit can be completed in any social studies class.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE UNIT

The culmination of this unit is the students' choice of an issue, and the formulation and implementation of a plan of action, for making a difference in the real world around them. But leading up to this point is a careful series of activities which lay the groundwork for their project. The majority of activities focus on preparing students to make informed decisions and to take thoughtful action. They help students understand more fully how to work together, how to analyze a problem and how to develop appropriate action plans. You should feel free to select from among these activities, those which best meet the needs of your own class.

The unit begins by inviting students to explore the reasons it may seem difficult to have an influence in the world, times they have actually made a difference, and ways they can empower each other. The next activities help students identify a wide range of issues that are important to them and eventually choose one on which they can make a difference. To begin building a sense of community within the classroom and to help students develop the skills, confidence, and motivation to act upon issues of concern to them, we have also provided a set of cooperative problem-solving activities from Cowstails and Cobras (Project Adventure, 1977).

The unit next moves into an examination of how the class should decide on an issue to work on. This exploration enables students to reflect on the relative merits of a variety of decision-making models and to choose the most effective model. After choosing an issue, the class researches the issue to broaden their understanding of the problem, to develop potential solutions, and to take a stand on one which represents their best collective thinking.

Next students can begin to explore the actual implementation of their ideas. Using a series of case studies, they have the opportunity to examine and critically evaluate tactics and strategies for creating change. The next activities provide an outline for identifying who has influence in the problem area, what resources are available to meet the problem, and what student actions are possible. Students then develop and implement a plan to create the changes they desire. The unit ends with an assessment of their efforts as well as with the communication of appreciation to people who provided assistance.

The unit can be completed in a four to six weeks, or extended over a semester or a year. Depending upon the abilities of your class, you may want to delete or modify portions of it. We have attempted to anticipate problems that might arise, but given the broad range of issues, you will certainly need to modify it to fit your circumstances.

DIALOGUE

Underlying the unit are two basic principles: dialogue, and cooperation and mutual support. By dialogue we mean finding alternatives to polarization and antagonism as a means of creating change. Often social issues are polarized into several competing positions to which people adamantly cling. Those who disagree are seen as the opposition, and the goal is to beat them. Throughout this guide we recommend an alternative approach, represented by thoughtful consideration of divergent perspectives. The goal is to understand each perspective and to seek out common values and goals. We realize that finding common goals is not always possible, and that it may be appropriate to take a stand which sets one apart. We can nevertheless approach those with whom we disagree with respect for their viewpoint and acknowledgement that our own may be wrong.

In a number of activities in this guide, we focus on a listening exercise referred to as the "believing exercise." In doing this, students are asked to suspend both their disbelief in a person's argument as well as their own position, and to listen as if the person is right. Students can ask difficult questions to better understand the person's position but cannot confront or challenge the person with their own. Before they look at it critically, students are asked to explore those aspects of the person's position which they can affirm. In this way they begin to listen more carefully, to empathize with the individual, and to overcome their tendency to find only the flaws which support their own position.

An example of this might be the following, if students feel that the school lunch is poor in quality and too expensive, rather than confronting those in authority, they seek to identify with the other person's viewpoint and belief systems in order to understand how these people made the choices they did, what constraints they were working under, and what they might do with school lunches if those constraints were not present. By approaching people and asking for their knowledge and advice, students may find allies rather than antagonists. Rather than taking a defensive stand, those in authority may be more inclined to see the students as allies in problems that they both share. In addition, by understanding many perspectives, students learn that judgments are always based on limited information and must be open to constant reevaluation.

COOPERATION AND MUTUAL SUPPORT

The second principle is that of cooperation and mutual support. The structure of our society and our schools often focus us on individual and competitive modes of working. In developing this unit we have attempted to step out of these modes so that students can experience being a part of a supportive community. One of the primary goals of this unit is to help students see how they can gain by supporting other people's work and can feel enriched by the support of others. Students work together toward a goal they have agreed on and begin to apply the principles of teamwork to the creation of a better world. The classroom becomes a community with a common problem which requires the talents and energy of everyone. We suggest that students use the believing exercise whenever they listen to each other in order to see how empowering listening and being listened to can be. Throughout the guide you will find ways for students to affirm and appreciate each others' work. Working cooperatively is a challenging skill which students will be able to apply in work and community settings throughout their adult lives.

THE CHALLENGE FOR TEACHERS

This unit will be a special challenge for teachers. Because the content is not predetermined, you will often be learning alongside students. Much will depend on your intuition and judgment rather than on extensive content preparation. You will have to pay much closer attention to facilitating the process so that it is suited to your students' abilities. You will also need to be honest about what you don't know. This can be an exciting exploration with your students.

The unit will also call on you to carefully monitor how you control the direction of the process. If we want to empower students, then we need to allow them to make significant choices and claim projects as their own. Our challenge is to facilitate the process, affirming their strengths and supporting them in their struggles with difficult questions. There will be times when you feel the urge to step in with answers and structures. It will be important to know when to hold back and help students figure it out for themselves. This may feel like giving up control, but it is actually a way to invest students with authority and responsibility. This will be even more true at the end of the unit than at the beginning. To accomplish this effectively, the process must become a basic structure for students. You must also establish clear behavioral standards such as that people work together cooperatively and listen and respect others' opinions.

INTRODUCING THE UNIT

One way to introduce Making History is to explain to your students that it is different than many of the social studies or history units they have studied before. Rather than being a textbook study of the branches of government and the political process, this is a learning-by-doing unit. Outline the unit's direction and its purpose. Share with them that they will have the opportunity to identify an important issue and work together as a class to make a difference.

It may be difficult for students to believe that they can make a difference in the world. As you open discussion on this unit, you might suggest that they begin thinking about all the ways they would like to see the world be a better place and that they use this experience as an opportunity to work together to help make that happen. You may want to tell them that change often occurs slowly and that many people contribute to it in small ways. The civil rights and women's movements are two examples of this.

It may also be difficult for students who are more familiar with texts, lectures, and a secure and predictable structure for their work, to accept this as a viable way to study political process. Explain that political process takes place on all levels, from the school to the United Nations. By working on this unit, they will have a first-hand experience with this process. This will be challenging in a new way and that they may learn some different, but no less valuable, skills. It will be especially important to be very clear on the standards by which students' work will be evaluated and on the structure of the unit. We suggest that a portion of the students' grades be based on their participation, and that you include periodic self-evaluations of each student's efforts. Establish clear expectations that people work together cooperatively and that they listen to and respect each others' opinions. Essentially, the goal is to make a difference and the way they can best accomplish that is to find ways to work together and support each other's efforts. This unit is non-competitive and, in fact, cooperation will improve students' grades as well their success.

USING JOURNALS

We also suggest that you have the students keep journals of their experiences in this unit. Journals can be an important way to record and reflect on their thinking. It is helpful to give students some class time to work on their journals so that they can respond immediately to class activities and discussions. Encourage students to date each entry for a sense of continuity. Students should feel free to write as much or as little as they find necessary. The entries can be spontaneous reactions or answers to your questions. They can include drawings, responses to course material, or autobiographical accounts of personal experiences. The journals can facilitate communication between the teacher and the student, but they should be considered confidential unless the students choose to share them. The journals offer you an opportunity to respond to the students' thoughts and questions. You can collect, read, and respond to the journals on a regular basis or just once or twice during the unit. The completion of and commitment to these journals rather than the style can be reflected in the students' grades as well.

CHOOSING AN APPROPRIATE ISSUE

You will have to play a very special role in helping students choose the issue to work on. Many of the issues which students might choose will be seen as valuable by adults, even though there might be disagreements on tactics and approach. Helping the elderly, easing world hunger, or cutting down on drunk driving are objectives with which few would argue. And, while some adults may not agree with students' positions on school-related issues, such as improving lunches or changing homework policies, they are at least likely to recognize that these issues affect students and therefore can and should engage their time and energy.

Some classes, however, might decide to choose a more volatile issue over which the adult community is polarized, such as abortion rights or the nuclear arms race. The class might also choose a political position, policy, or candidate to support. It is possible to help students find an effective way to work on more controversial issues. They can look for a common goal that most people in the community support, such as prevention of unwanted pregnancies or education about divergent positions in the arms race.

This is not the case when it comes to partisan politics. Objections will be raised that the school is not a place where students should be indoctrinated with a particular partisan position, and that students are not old enough or sufficiently well informed to take stands on partisan politics. You and the class should consider seriously these objections.

Objections may be raised about less controversial issues as well, yet we feel that these can be responded to effectively. As long as teachers and students invite open consideration of a variety of views on a given issue, problems with the administration and community are less likely to occur. In fact, through discussions with you about the purpose of this project, administrators and community members may well recognize that student involvement in controversial issues which interest them will help develop skills all educators view as important: reading intelligently, writing clearly, listening thoughtfully, thinking critically and speaking effectively. You can also point out that to become effective, contributing members in our society, students must develop the skills necessary to participate responsibly in activities and actions which can truly make a difference locally or nationally.

You will be the best judge of what is appropriate for your community and, at the same time, empowering for students. We recommend that these issues be raised with your students so that they understand some of the limitations and constraints and are able to give careful and thorough consideration to their choice of issue.

INVOLVING THE GREATER COMMUNITY

We recommend that you keep administrators and parents informed and involved from the beginning. It is important to build support from the school and community and maintain this support throughout the project. Listen to parents' concerns, suggestions, and observations about what the students are doing. Involve them in the problem-solving process and communicate to them that the purpose of this curriculum is to help students experience how they can make a difference in the world. Include members of your faculty in your initial planning, and enlist their support. Because the PARTICIPATION series currently includes units in social studies, language arts, science, and math, it offers a unique opportunity for interdisciplinary collaboration.

IN CONCLUSION

We hope that you will find Making History an exciting and empowering experience for both your students and yourself. We would appreciate your sharing with us how you used it, how effective it was, and how we might improve it.

If we can help students look at the important issues, not just as problems, but as opportunities to make a difference, we will have helped them feel a part of the creation of a better future.

A PRELIMINARY ACTIVITY ON PARTICIPATION

Many students come to us with feelings of powerlessness, cynicism and apathy. They feel distant from the political process and feel little control over their own lives. This curriculum addresses these feelings and focuses on involving students in new ways of participating with each other and with adults which will give them the experience of making a difference in the world.

We believe it is important to begin where students are, by allowing them to identify and discuss some of their present feelings and the circumstances surrounding them. The following article should elicit a range of views about the extent to which students feel they can make a difference. Have students read "Democracy in (In)Action." Then ask them if they share any of the feelings expressed by the students in the editorial. Ask them whether they believe they can make a difference. Rather than arguing against their feelings, accept what they say, both about the potential for change in the U.S. and about the frustration with the lack of change. Ask them, "What makes it hard to have an influence on others and on our political system?" This will allow them to be more specific in their ideas and frustrations. Write some of these on the board and allow them to explore and expand on them. Their initial expressions of powerlessness and cynicism may be only "skin deep." Middle- and high-school students harbor a yearning to improve the world, to come up with new, daring visions, and to test themselves in the world. When they are allowed to express their frustrations, students are also more likely to voice their positive visions.

Handout 1: Democracy in (In)Action

by George Perkovich (from Boston Globe, April, 1984)

The following discussion took place in the social studies class of a local high school recently. The class was discussing American democracy, and the voice that students can have in the process.

Teacher: How many of you are 18 and have registered for the draft? (Three hands go up.)

Teacher: How many of you are 18 and have registered to vote? (No hands go up.)

Teacher: Do any of you find it contradictory that we seem more inclined to register to be drafted than to register to vote?

(Some students begin moving uncomfortably in their chairs.)

Teacher: Who decides if we go to war or not? Who decides if these guys are drafted?

Student 1: The President decides that.

Student 2: No, Congress has to declare war.

Student 3: I think if a war starts there won't be time to declare it or draft anybody anyway.

Student 4: What about Lebanon and Grenada?

Teacher: Wait. You're right. It is complicated to say who decides if we go to war or not. For now, let's just say that elected officials make the ultimate decisions to go to war and to start a draft.

Student 1: Listen, I'm not going to fight no war. I just signed up because you would go to jail if you don't.

Teacher: If you don't want to go to war, why don't you at least register to vote?

Student 1: What good does it do to vote? Voting doesn't make any difference. The government doesn't care what you think.

Teacher: How many of you think your voting doesn't matter? (A majority of hands goes up.)

Student 3: The government just does what it wants. Things are secret. We can't change any of that.

Student 4: I think we should just nuke the Russians and then we won't have to worry about any stupid wars, the draft or any of this garbage. (Some students laugh approvingly.)

Student 2: That's ridiculous. There's a lady from Russia on our street and she says the people over there are just like us.

Student 4 (smiling): OK, so let's just nuke their government. The people are OK. (More students are laughing, uncomfortably.)

Teacher: What do you think is so bad about their government?

Student 4: You kidding? It's a Communist country. The government don't listen to the people. They don't have a say in anything. No freedom. No elections.

Student 6: No, they do have elections in the Soviet Union.

Student 1: Yeah, but it doesn't matter.

Teacher: So, what you're saying is that what is so bad about the Soviet government is that it's just like the US government? People don't have a say in either of them?

Student 1: No, that's not it. The people have power here.

Teacher: Do you?

Student 1 (after some thought): Well, we could.

Handout 2: Your Vote Makes a Difference

Your vote does make a difference -- whether on the national, state, or local level. Many races have been won by few votes. History has been witness to these instances.

-- John Kennedy won the presidency in 1960 by just one vote per precinct in Illinois. One voter in each precinct could have changed the election in Illinois, giving Nixon 26 electoral votes and consequently electing him President.

-- Marcus Monton was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1839 by one vote out of 102,066 cast.

-- The 1962 Governor's race for Minnesota was so close it took four months to find out who won. The State Canvassing Board gave Anderson 619,722 votes and Rolvaag 619,580. After a District Court recount, Anderson had 619,751 and Rolvaag 619,842. The margin of victory was 91 votes.

-- In 1845, one vote made Texas part of the United States.

-- One vote saved President Andrew Johnson from impeachment in 1868.

-- One vote elected Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency, and the man in the Electoral College who cast that vote was an Indiana congressman elected by one vote.

-- In 1950, a state senator from Garrett County, Maryland was elected by one vote. The winner had 3,080. The loser, 3,079.

-- One vote kept Aaron Burr from becoming President. That one vote elected Thomas Jefferson President in 1800.

-- In 1974, New Hampshire had one of the closest and most contested elections in this country. In the senatorial race, Republican Louis Wyman appeared to be the winner by 542 votes. But after a recount, Democrat John Durkin was certified the winner by 10 votes. Still later, the decision was reversed and Wyman was declared the winner by two votes. After a year of court battles and controversy in Congress, a special election was held, in which Durkin won with 140,273 votes to Wyman's 113,004 votes.

-- In 1923, one vote made Adolph Hitler head of the Nazi Party.

-- Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1916 by carrying one state by less than one vote per precinct.

-- In 1978, a tie vote in a race for the Pennsylvania Legislature resulted in neither party having a majority. A recount broke the tie and gave control of the House to the Democrats.
(from the Office of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts, Michael Joseph Connolly, Secretary.)

EMPOWERMENT

By helping students understand the meaning of empowerment, this initial activity helps students see some of their strengths and the ways they have already made a difference to someone. By starting with their own experience, students will also be better able to participate more actively in the rest of the unit.

Empowerment is a new term to many. It is defined in the dictionary as being invested with authority, responsibility or respect. In a recent brainstorming session on the meaning of empowerment, a group of educators came up with such phrases as: feeling a part of; feeling heard; having an influence on something; an active engagement in the world; feeling strong; feeling good about oneself; being listened to; persevering; seeing connections between ideas and experiences; feeling connections with other people; being creative; accepting responsibility; having the strength to do what you believe in; going for "it" fully; sharing from the heart; and knowing in your heart that something is right.

Begin by exploring with your students the meaning of empowerment. If this kind of activity is new to you, make sure you read through it and do the exercises for yourself. Explain the dictionary definition. Share several experiences in your life when you felt empowered, when someone entrusted you with something important, when you were a significant help to someone in need, or when you made a difference on some issue. Brainstorm with your students the images which come to mind when they think of the word empowerment. Help them see that empowerment can happen when one is a member of a sports team, organization, or club; within their family; or in class when they really understand something or "get it."

The goal of the next portion of this activity is to help students understand the factors, internal and external, lead to empowerment. It can be done as either a writing assignment or a guided visualization. If it is done as a guided visualization, you can tell them that you are going to have them imagine an experience and that you will ask them a series of questions to help them imagine it in as much detail as possible. They will want to remain quiet and may even want to close their eyes to shut out distractions.

Begin by asking them to remember a time when they felt empowered, when their qualities and abilities were recognized and acknowledged, or when they felt a sense of inner strength. Have them spend a few minutes re-experiencing it. It may take some time for everyone to remember such an experience and you should remain quiet during that time. You may want to check if everyone has thought of a time and, if not, suggest that they look for some everyday experience, such as helping or being helped by a friend or family member. If they still cannot think of an experience, have them imagine what empowerment might feel like and explore that. Ask the following questions, allowing them time in between each one to more fully recreate the experience: What was the situation that created this experience of empowerment? Where were you? Were there other people around you? What time of year was it? What else was happening in your life at the time? How did it feel to be empowered? What inside you prepared you to feel empowered? Were there others involved in making you feel empowered? If so, how were they involved? How did you express that sense of empowerment?

At the end of this visualization ask the students to write out their experiences in their journals and to list some of the factors, internal and external, which led to their feeling empowered. If it feels appropriate, have them form groups of two or three and share their experiences with each other. Then, as a class, discuss the factors which can lead us to feel empowered.

After students have visualized or written about a time when they felt empowered, have them repeat the exercise, this time visualizing a time when they empowered someone else. Use the same process as you did for the previous visualization. The following are questions to ask to help students recreate their experience: What were the circumstances surrounding this time? Who was involved? How did you feel about this person at the time? What was it that made them feel empowered? How did you feel helping this person feel empowered? How did you act? Think of other times when you empowered someone. How often are you empowering to others? What can you do to be more empowering to others?

Again you will want students to write in their journals and share their experiences in small groups, looking for the factors which led to someone else's feeling empowered. Discuss these as a class and make a list of the most important factors leading to empowerment. You may want to write these on posterboard or newsprint so that they can remain up for students to look at throughout the unit. In closing this activity, you may want to share that, because the whole class will be working together, we will all need to find ways to empower each other. Throughout the unit refer back to this list so that students can begin to identify those behaviors that both empower and disempower others. This will be especially important as you encourage students to listen carefully to each other and to respect each other's opinions. As the unit proceeds, you may also ask them in what ways others in the class have empowered them, and in what ways they have empowered others.

CLASS CLIMATE

In order to send an immediate message to students that this unit will be different from many of their past experiences, consider first the environment in which it will occur. We sometimes forget how powerfully we are affected by the environment in which we work. The physical environment of the classroom -- what is displayed on the walls, how the chairs are arranged, what materials are available — speaks to students in subtle ways, helping them feel that their ideas are welcome and their input is desired.

To set the stage for a curriculum in which they identify issues in their lives on which they would like to act, students can be asked to complete the following assignment as homework or in class:

1. Select and post headlines from a variety of newspapers on divergent views and topics.
2. Collect political cartoons, including ambiguous ones, and put them up.
3. Bring in pictures of political figures from the U.S. and the world with or without identifying them, to arouse curiosity among classmates.
4. Find and post clippings of the Republican and Democratic Party platforms to stimulate interest in elections.
5. Find and post success stories about a variety of accomplishments on the local, national or global level.

Encourage students to find and include as many views and issues as possible. Assure them that they do not have to agree with these views. The purpose here is to stimulate questions, not necessarily to arrive at answers. Students can to create colorful posters, collages and even bumper stickers.

You can further supplement this process by providing a table on which a wide range of magazines and newspapers is available for perusal. Encourage students to continue bringing in materials for use throughout the unit.

ACTION VIGNETTES

Across the United States, students have taken actions which have made a difference in their communities. On the following pages are vignettes of several student projects. The examples and the questions which follow introduce the idea that students have successfully taken action on many issues and in many areas. Their purpose is to counteract possible feelings that action is futile. Students will be asked later to think in much more depth about these and other actions, about how issues were chosen, what options the students had in each case, how to carry them out, etc. In the meantime, it is important to begin with an attitude that change is possible, that students can participate in and make a difference in their environments. Encourage them to discuss the following student actions by posing such questions as:

-- In each of these examples, what issues were students trying to tackle?

-- How do you think these students felt before they decided to act? What motivated them?

-- What changes occurred as a result of their actions?

-- If these students were here, what would you ask them?

-- Have any of you ever participated in such a project? If you were to be part of one of these projects, what areas would you imagine yourself working on?

RESOURCES

Descriptions of these and many other projects are available from:

The National Center for Service-Learning (a division of ACTION), 806 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20525, (800) 424-8580.

NCSL's journal, Synergist, was published three times per year from 1971 to 1982. Reprints of Synergist articles as well as other materials about the organization, evaluation, philosophy, etc. of youth service projects are available upon request. NCSL's materials are relevant to college and university, programs as well as to junior and senior high schools.

National Commission on Resources for Youth (NCRY is now defunct, but its publications are available from: Institute for Responsive Education, 605 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215, (617) 353-3309.

NCRY's publications include reports of many projects done by junior and senior high-school students, extensive materials on youth peer tutoring programs, administrative manuals and theoretical papers.

Handout 3: Youth Participation Projects

Neighborhood Relations in Baltimore, Maryland

Students and teachers at Northwestern Senior High School in Baltimore, Maryland designed a project called Community and School Together (CAST) to improve community relationships. Neighborhood residents, who were mainly elderly and white, and students, who were mainly black, felt such fear of each other that the neighborhood improvement association was considering constructing a fence around the school. The fence would be 10 feet high and topped with barbed wire, with only one exit. The purpose of the fence was to limit interaction between members of the neighborhood, since all interaction seemed to be negative.

In order to avoid this barrier and to address its causes, CAST was created. CAST grew to include several projects over a few years. First, a telephone hotline was set up so that local residents could call for assistance and report complaints. Students handed out flyers announcing the hotline and were trained by other community hotline workers. The students learned to refer some calls to other agencies and to answer others directly. In addition to the hotline, students offered other services to the community. Many calls came in for shoveling snow, escorting an elderly resident to a doctor's office, or just listening. The escort service was especially important in changing the community atmosphere. The older residents no longer felt imprisoned by the fear of going outside. CAST also organized many evening courses, theater projects, and special events to further draw the community and school together.

Services for the Handicapped in Lexington, Massachusetts

Students in Lexington High School's "Computers in Society" class have worked on the problems faced by handicapped people by providing information about available services. In the spring of 1984, students began by surveying agencies which serve handicapped people in the greater Boston area. As 87 of the surveys came back, the students entered the data into the computer and produced a "yellow pages" directory, as well as an active computer data bank. Handicapped people can thus obtain information about the services available to them in Metropolitan Boston. Each of the participating agencies received a copy of the "yellow pages" to use with their clients. The project will be taken one step further. Since the high school does not have the facilities or staff to provide telephone information, a community agency will be given the software and will offer this service.

The class project for the fall of 1984 is directed toward making the larger community more accessible to the handicapped. Students have begun to survey Lexington's public buildings, recording information about each, such as, whether or not there are ramps and elevators, where there is parking designated for the handicapped, and whether the public telephones and bathrooms are accessible, etc. After examining the public buildings, the students hope to do the same with local businesses and produce another printed directory. This will be available, along with the software disc, for anyone needing it.

A Job Bank in Bangor, Maine

In the spring of 1979, a youth job bank was set up in Bangor, Maine to help students in their search for summer jobs. This was the second such job bank in Maine, the first one having been created in 1977 in Skowhegan. Both were housed in the local offices of the Job Services Division of the Maine Department of Manpower Affairs. The job bank was staffed by high school students who developed lists of their peers who were looking for part-time or summer work and lists of potential employers. They helped students fill out forms, advised them about proper dress for interviews, arranged appointments, etc. In their training, the student staff learned not only about these organizational topics, but also about laws governing minimum wage and underage workers, employer/employee relations, and interviewing techniques. According to the supervisor at Job Services, the students looking for work took advice much more easily from their peers than from an adult.

The student staff was also responsible for publicity about the program. They wrote public service announcements for the radio, wrote articles for the local newspaper, put up posters, handed out flyers and spoke to school and business groups. The Job Services supervisor explained that because she didn't have time to supervise the students were responsible for all the workings of the job bank.

Health Care and Neighborhood Cleanup in South Bronx, New York

In the fall of 1974, students at Intermediate School #139 in the South Bronx were given an assignment to write an essay about the problems in their neighborhood. From that assignment grew a project called GUTS (Government Understanding for Today's Students). Each year the junior high school students choose a few issues to address. Two examples of areas in which the students have worked to bring about changes are health care and neighborhood decay.

To address health care problems, the students conducted a comparative study of health care provided by the city to North Bronx residents and to South Bronx residents. They found the care provided to the South Bronx residents to be inferior to the care in North Bronx. They presented their findings and their own plan for better health care to the borough government. They also decided to provide some services directly. They held community health fairs to disseminate health information and to give simple tests, such as blood pressure tests, which they themselves learned to perform.

To bring about changes in the neighborhood, the students chose a very challenging project. The school was adjacent to some abandoned buildings and an open lot filled with wrecked cars and other rubbish, posing many dangers for the neighborhood children who played there. The students wanted to create a community garden. So, they organized a neighborhood task force which helped remove the abandoned cars and restore sanitation services, snow removal, etc. They found out that some of the buildings were publicly owned and contacted people in the local government about tearing them down. The owners of the privately-owned buildings were more difficult to contact and convince, however, so the students invited the mayor of New York City to the lot. The Mayor saw the privately-owned structures and asked, "How can you set up a garden with those buildings in the way?" The buildings were soon torn down and the lot cleared. Students contacted business for donations and created an urban garden for growing vegetables. The garden has remained an important project for the students and a source of food for the neighborhood.

Speaking Out on Nuclear War in Watertown, Massachusetts

On August 6, 1984, 22 high school students and community members from the Massachusetts towns of Watertown and Belmont travelled to Washington, D.C. to show their locally-made videotape, "Students Speak Out on Nuclear War," to Congressional legislators and aides. The trip followed a five-month community project which produced both the videotape and a community forum to express students' concerns about the threat of nuclear war. In the words of one student, "It's good to realize that when I have something to say, I will be listened to. I think the day [in Washington] made me realize we really do have a say in what our Representatives do. The people who saw our tape were impressed. The tape says a lot -- it makes them think about how we feel." Another student stated, "The whole day has made a tangible experience out of feelings I have been having. It was more than just talk; it was getting something done. Some important people found out how a lot of people feel, and we found out they share our feelings." Students shared these and many other thoughts in conversations with those in Washington who viewed the tape and through interviews with three TV stations and a reporter from the Associated Press.

The videotape project began five months earlier when five community and religious organizations in Watertown and Belmont began organizing a forum entitled "Nuclear Issues and Our Families." The purpose of the forum was to bring together community members from the two towns to explore the impact of the threat of nuclear war on the daily lives of both adults and children. Junior high and high school teachers and students from the two communities met with these organizations. Together they developed a plan to create a videotape in which students could express their thoughts and feelings about nuclear war.

Approximately 40 students participated in the project. A small group of students acted as organizers and spoke to other teachers and students about the project. They kept in touch with those who volunteered to be interviewed, chose student interviewers, selected questions to be used in the interviews and helped on the day of the taping. One student wrote a letter and appeared before the Watertown School Committee where she received endorsement for the project.

Many of the students joined the project after seeing a tape produced by Dr. Eric Chivian, in which Soviet children express their thoughts and feelings about nuclear war and the need to work for peace in the world. For most students, this was their first experience of Soviet people with feelings and concerns similar to their own. Many expressed the hope that Soviet students could see their videotape.

The videotape was completed in mid-May and shown to high school classes, several community groups, and to approximately 175 Watertown and Belmont residents who participated in the "Nuclear Issues and Our Families" forum. Discussions stimulated by the tape and a growing attention to students' views culminated in the trip to Washington. Out of the Washington experience has grown a plan to show the tape again at the State House in Boston. In the fall, the videotape will also be shown to Soviet children in the Soviet Union.

When this project was first conceived, many students expressed feelings of powerlessness, frustration and cynicism in the face of a reality they felt unable to influence: "I think often you feel futile — what is talking among yourselves really going to do to prevent nuclear war? I don't know what we can do as kids." Several students, however, decided to go ahead because the purpose of the tape was to inform other adults and students about how they felt, and because the format of the videotape was to be designed by them. During the production of the tape, the student who had previously felt pessimistic said, "I do think one person can make a difference — they can get other people going. You can always do something. It's not hopeless." Another student stated, "This videotape we are making is one way kids can have an impact. It's most important that adults see the tape so they can understand how kids feel, and understand it's not just their decision -- we need influencce too."

RESEARCH PROJECTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

After discussing the vignettes of various youth actions, it will be important to turn students' attention back to their own community and to have them interview an active community member. By interviewing a person active in their own community, they will begin to broaden the range of issues and actions. Individuals involved in the community also become local models with backgrounds and concerns similar to the students' own.

Pose these questions to students: Are any of you familiar with projects in your own communities in which students have taken action? Do you know any adults who are working to bring about changes? If needed, help the students by suggesting people from many fields. Perhaps there are lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, artists, religious leaders, politicians, labor leaders, or individuals running lobbying campaigns or advocacy projects who have taken a stand on a certain issue. Encourage students to consider not only the public figures, but also the people supporting them: union members, political party workers, people working behind the scenes on many projects and in many agencies. In election years, suggest campaign volunteers.

Allow a week for students to contact, interview, and write a vignette about their chosen "activist." Have the students develop questions to prepare for the interview, which may include:

1. What are you involved in? Why?
2. How did you become involved initially?
3. What specific tasks or interactions with people have felt most empowering to you? Can you describe specific experiences?
4. What have you learned through participating in this cause?
5. How do you feel about your involvement?
6. What do you think you or your group has accomplished?

GENERATING ISSUES

By the end of the next series of activities, students will choose an issue to work on. They will choose this issue after listing a wide variety of issues that are important to them. One way to help students think of issues they care about is to brainstorm. The object of a brainstorm is to stimulate imaginative associations which lead to creative ideas. One student's idea may trigger an association which leads to another idea. After exploring a wide range of possible issues, students will be able to make a meaningful choice.

Tell students that the next activity, a brainstorming session, is designed to generate as broad a list as possible of issues to consider working on. Ask the class to think of aspects of their family and community lives, as well as of national and global situations, which they feel are unfair. They can respond orally and record their ideas on the board or on large sheets of newsprint; or they may feel more comfortable listing ten or fifteen items on paper before sharing them. Ask students to withhold judgment and censorship of their ideas, as well as all criticism and evaluation of others' suggestions. Instead, they are to listen closely to each others' suggestions, because they will trigger ideas in their own minds. Encourage them to share any further associations which come up. Be aware of gaps in topics raised, and when the suggestions lag, ask questions that will help students think along lines they haven't yet considered. The material already posted in the class will also stimulate students' thinking.

Once the class has exhausted all suggestions, one or more students, or the entire class, can attempt to organize the list to make it more useful. Keep the original list up somewhere around the room and encourage students to add to it. If the list raises issues at the global or abstract level -- e.g., hunger, nuclear war, crime, deforestation, etc. -- make those issues more manageable and more concrete by bringing them closer to home. If hunger, for example, appears on the list, ask the student who suggested it what he or she had in mind. The student may say that there is a famine in Africa right now, that many of the world's people suffer from malnutrition, or that there are many hungry people in America. Ask the class: Does anyone in our community suffer from hunger? How did the students become aware of the problem? How does this problem manifest itself at the state or national level? You may need to do this with several issues that the class brings up, although, it may not be necessary if they have generated local issues of more immediate concern.

DEVELOPING A VISION

The long list of injustices generated in the preceding activity may arouse in students just those feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness we hope to counteract. It is important to acknowledge these feelings, and to affirm that there are many individuals and groups who care and are working on these issues. Remind students that they have already read about some of these people, and that they too will be joining this caring human network by working on this unit.

To help them move out of a mood of cynicism, give students an assignment which will permit them to be at their most idealistic. Ask the class to create, in some form, a vision of the world as they would like to see it. Tell them: "For this assignment forget all constraints of practicality, economics, realism. Just let your imagination soar and be prepared to share with the class your vision of the world as it would be if you could make it that way. You may write an essay or a poem in which you describe some aspect of that world, you may draw or paint some aspect of that world; you may want to make a collage or a three-dimensional representation. Your vision must be in some form that can be shared with the class."

The next day when the assignments come in, have students sit in a circle. In order for students to feel safe and positive about sharing their visions, give the class a task that will engage their empathy and understanding for each others' creations. Say to students: "As you listen to each vision, imagine what would feel good about living in that world, imagine how that world would look, and, even though these visions may be idealistic, let each other know what you appreciate about each. After the sharing, allow time for others to say what they most liked about the vision and what would feel good about living in that world. In this way, students begin using the believing exercise described in the introduction. If some students are reluctant to read or share their vision, let them pass. Put the essays, drawings, and other creations up around the room. At the end of the class, allow students time to react to the visions in their journals.

GROUP PROBLEM-SOLVING EXERCISES

Many students have not had experiences which give them the skills, confidence, and motivation to want to act on issues they perceive as unjust. Some exposure to problem-solving and confidence-building exercises will help them develop a sense of community through shared experience and challenge. The exercises which follow are designed to encourage participation, the ability to work effectively in groups, and awareness of each person's contributions to the success of a group endeavor.

As the class struggles to meet the challenges, teachers can observe which students participate and what contribution each makes; which students suggest ways to solve problems and which are listened to or ignored; which students commit themselves wholeheartedly to the problem and which ones give up; which students react to these challenges as they do to academic ones; which challenges bring out opportunities for creative participation for students who seldom participate in class; what new qualities are observed in students; what kinds of techniques for group problem solving they use; what new ones are they learning; what obstacles they perceive in solving the problem and how they overcome them; what they are finding out about each other; and how they recognize each others' strengths and show consideration for each others' weaknesses.

These activities are taken from Rohnke, Karl, Cowstails and Cobras, A Guide to Ropes Courses, Initiative Games, and Other Adventure Activities, Project Adventure, Inc. (P.O. Box 100, Hamilton, MA 01936), 1977. This book is an excellent resource for additional cooperative and challenge activities, many of which require elaborate physical equipment but others of which can easily be adapted to regular classroom or outdoor activities. Familiarize yourself with these basic guidelines for presentation before embarking on the projects in this book:

1. Choose a problem suited to the age and the ability of the group. Older students are easily turned off by a childish situation, and any group will be intimidated by a problem that requires skills beyond their capabilities.

2. Find a convenient place to set up the problem. Many could take place in your classroom, but all would work better in a gym or on a field.

3. Make all ground rules and procedures clear to the participants before they attempt to solve the problem.

4. Present the situation and the rules, then step back and allow the group to work (or perhaps stumble) through the problem. While the instructor sets up the problem and probably knows the best way to solve it, very little good will come from interrupting the problem-solving process with hints or indications to the participants of a more efficient or "right" way. The interaction is the important element in the process, not how well the participants are performing or the particular solution reached.

5. The problems can be presented in many different ways. Some instructors present a highly fanciful situation, while others present a more realistic situation.

6. If you are working with a group as large as 25-30, it probably makes sense to split the group into smaller units.

7. After a group has completed (or tried to complete) a problem, it should be discussed by all who were involved. Have students sit so they can see everyone else in the group. Ask them not to interrupt, "put down," or ridicule others, and make sure everyone knows they have the right to "pass." It is important to allow students planty of time to answer. Ask questions and wait for the discussion to flow, focusing on the process they have just gone through. Examine what decisions were made and who made them; who had ideas which weren't expressed, or which were expressed but not heard. The discussion may focus on the roles of males and females, or move naturally into a comparison between the cooperative process just experienced and parallel aspects of society. Describe what you saw without judging, and try to summarize the points discussed. After the discussion, provide time for students to write in their journals.

To introduce these activities to the class, you might say something like the following:

We have read vignettes of ways people have worked together to bring about change, and we have listed many issues which we feel are unjust. Because we want to work on a problem together and haven't done it before, we need to practice some of the skills of group problem solving and to feel what it is like to solve problems together. The exercises we are going to do feel like games. Each one presents a challenge to a group, and it isn't solved until the whole group has accomplished the task. There is no right or wrong way to do these. The better you listen to each other's ideas and the more inventive you are, the more you will enjoy and benefit from the exercises.

THE "ALL ABOARD"

The object of the problem is to see how many students can get on a platform at one time. The platform is two feet square and built approximately eighteen inches off the ground. It is important that sturdy construction materials be used, as collapse of the platform could result in injury. Any substantial series of boards or 3/4-inch plywood (exterior grade) should be sufficient. Four-inch square posts of wolmanized wood should be used as pillars and sunk a minimum of two feet in the ground.

(Although this is an outdoor activity, we have adapted it for classroom or gym by marking off a two-foot square on the floor with masking tape. Put cinder blocks at the four corners and put a sturdy platform of boards over the blocks to form an elevated two-foot-square space. Again, be very careful that the platform and its supports are sturdy in order to avoid injury.)

Divide the class into groups of 12-15 and tell them that each group is to attempt to get all its members on the platform. In order to be counted on the platform, a student must have both feet off the ground. In order to complete the challenge, they must be able to hold their balanced pose for at least five seconds.

Usually a class can get 12 - 15 students on the platform, although it is theoretically possible to get on many more. The exercise lends itself well to a discussion about group effort, group and individual commitment, leadership, compassion, and group dynamics.

After each group has tried, with or without success, discuss the process. What made the problem difficult? How did you arrive at a solution? How many people made suggestions? How many of the suggestions were tried? How did you know what suggestions would work? Did someone take charge? How did that happen? How did you feel about it? How did you feel when your suggestions were not heard? Could you have solved this problem without a leader? Did anyone have unusual difficulties with this problem? How was this person helped?

THE "FOUR POINTER"

The object is to move a group of seven students across a thirty-foot space using only four points of simultaneous contact with the ground.

Divide the class into groups of seven. Mark off a thirty-foot distance on the gym floor, in the classroom, or on a field.

Tell students that each group of seven is to start behind the line and get across the thirty-foot space. The problem is that, of their 28 arms and legs, hands and feet, knees and elbows, only four may be in contact with the ground as the group moves. They may not use any props, and all seven people must be in contact with each other as they move.

Have as many groups as possible make the attempt at the same time so they can discover solutions independently.

TANGLE or PRETZEL

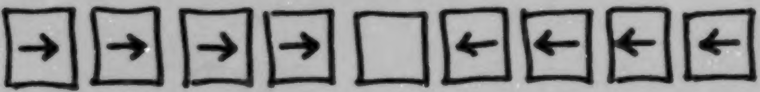
This is a no-prop problem which often sparks cooperation from a balky or bored group.

Ask a group of 12-18 students to stand in a circle. Ask them to move toward the center until their shoulders touch. They should each now put their arms into the circle and grasp with each of their hands the hand of two other people, not their immediate neighbors. When everyone has grasped two other hands, ask them to disentangle themselves without letting go of the hands they are holding. This will necessitate much twisting, stepping over grasped hands, and going over and under held hands, until a circle is formed, so that all are standing next to the people they are holding hands with. If someone lets go of a hand, the problem is unsolved and the group has to start over. When the group is finally disentangled, some individuals may have their arms crossed.

This is part of an acceptable situation. As a result of the initial grasping of hands, two or even three circles may form. The separation of these circles is also considered to be a solution.

TRAFFIC JAM

This is the human version of an old Eastern peg-board puzzle. Divide the class into groups of eight. Mark off a line of nine square spaces on the floor, with each space an easy step from those adjoining it. Each group is to form a line with four students facing four students as if preparing for a tug of war. There should be an empty space between the two groups of four facing each other.



The problem is to get the four students on the right to exchange places with the four students on the left by following these rules:

A student may move only into an empty space in front of him or her. No one may move backwards. A student may move around a student facing him or her if there is an empty space behind that student. No one may move around a student facing the same direction he or she is facing. Only one person at a time may move. The process is similar to that of moving or jumping pegs in turn to move them to opposit sides of a board.

This is often a difficult problem. After a solution to the problem is discovered or chanced upon, the group discovers that one person giving commands is the most efficient way to solve the traffic jam. Ask that person and the group if they can quickly solve the problem again. The leader will ordinarily stumble a bit, but the solution will be reached more efficiently.

When the groups appear confident with their solution, have them line up in the start position again. Indicate that the completion of the next challenge involves having everyone holding their breath as they go through the moves. The leader is the only one who may give commands. If anyone breathes before the last move, the whole group "expires" and must begin again.

This is one of the few problems in which a group often consciously decides to have one person take charge and for the others to be quiet and follow directions. This is worth talking about in comparison with other problems and with real life situations. Ask the group if anyone can think of some situations in real life where similar conditions exist and a group voluntarily quiets and follows instructions? Did anyone feel resentful of the leader's authority?

THE TEN-MEMBER PYRAMID

The object of this problem is to build a symmetrical pyramid with a group of ten students as quickly and efficiently as possible.

In your presentation to the class, make no mention of having to form the pyramid with all students on their hands and knees. The problem can be solved and performed in less than five seconds by a group who simply lies down or lines up in the assigned 4-3-2-1 sequence.

If possible, each group should be co-ed. Timing begins when the problem has been given and ends when the final person tops off the apex. The exercise should be done on mats in the gym or outside on grass or soft ground.

This problem points out that an initial burst of activity is often not the best approach. As in any good initiative problem, some thoughtful planning should be necessary to achieve a rapid and efficient solution.

After all the groups of ten have tried the problem (again, they should be working on it simultaneously if possible), have them discuss what they have learned from this exercise. How was the decision made on how to form the pyramid? Who made suggestions? Did a leader emerge? What did the leader say that made others follow? How much cooperative effort was necessary to succeed with this problem? Did you learn anything about yourself or someone in your class through this exercise? How did you feel while participating?

AIRPORT

The object is to develop cooperation, trust and imagination through physical and verbal group activity, and to develop the capacity for taking responsibility in guiding others and following directions.

Tell the class that you will need two volunteers, one a pilot and one an air traffic controller. There is a tremendous fog above the airport and the instrumental guidance system is not working. The task of the controller is to bring the pilot to a safe landing.

The pilot is blindfolded and stands at the end of a long runway formed by the chairs of the class, or marked on the floor with tape, or marked with ropes. The runway is strewn with obstacles, some the bodies of classmates, some objects put there by the group. The controller is to bring the pilot to a safe landing by giving directions on where to step in order to avoid the obstacles. When the pilot lands safely without bumping into edges of the runway or any obstacles, he and the controller give others a chance. If the pilot bumps into an object on the runway, both pilot and controller forfeit the rest of the turn. Two other students then get a turn. While the new pilot is being blindfolded, the obstacles are rearranged and the pilot is twirled to create some disorientation. (You may want to play a slightly harder version of this game by calling the situation an accident at sea, with one blindfolded "rower" moving backward to a "dock" guided by a "dock worker.")

When all students have had a chance to participate as pilot or controller, there are some questions that might be useful for discussion: Did the controllers get better as the game went along? How did it feel to be blindfolded? Which commands were hardest to understand? Did the pilots trust the controllers? How could you tell if you were an observer? Did the human obstacles want the pilots to make it? Which pilots went furthest? What accounts for this?

LOOKING AT MODELS FOR MAKING DECISIONS

Essential to any cooperative effort are the decisions made by the group. Equally important is the process by which the group makes its decisions. The process a group chooses affects not only the quality of the decision made but also the way the group works together, the way members of the group feel about their participation, and how fully different members express their views.

In the following activities, students will explore six different decision-making models, choose one process, and use it to narrow down the list of issues they generated. They will also use this process to select one issue on which they will take action as a class.

Begin the discussion by asking students to brainstorm groups and situations in which people make decisions. Encourage them to think of groups they have been part of and groups they have observed or read about. They might want to include groups within their families, their school, their community, and groups operating within the two political parties or within the state or national government. Their ideas should be listed on a large sheet of paper to be used in a later activity.

Have two or three students describe a group decision they were part of or observed. How was the issue presented? How were different viewpoints presented? Who made the decision? Did everyone agree? How did those who disagreed feel about the decision? What process did they finally use for deciding? Briefly discuss the similarities and differences between the ways these decisions were made. Then pass out the hand-out, "Decision-Making Models," telling students that the class will look at models of several ways decisions are made. These decision-making models may sound a great deal like the group decisions students just described. Ask students to identify the models used in these group decisions. Ask them to give examples of the other models from other groups they observed or participated in. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each -- what students liked or didn't like about what happened.

Handout 4: Decison-Making Models

Use the descriptions on this page to help you think about how other groups make decisions and about how you might want to choose to decide as a class how to make a difference on the issues you will be working on.

1. Random Choice: A random method of deciding is used to avoid bias, as in the selection of individuals for the draft or in the selection of jurors for jury duty; or when there are no clear reasons for making one choice over another, as in the selection of the first person to present a class paper; or when there is irreconcilable conflict, as when thwo people want the same thing.Decisions may be made formally by a lottery system or informally by drawing straws or flipping a coin.

2. Authoritarianism: In an authoritarian decision-making model, the final responsibility for all decisions rests with one person, or with a small group. The authority is not accountable to those who will be affected by the decision and may or may not consult with them.

3. Direct Democracy: All members of a group have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. Every member votes. The preference of the majority becomes the decision of the group through a majority vote. Sometimes the rules are modified so that a 2/3 or 3/4 majority (or some other fraction) is required to make a decision.

4. Representative Democracy: Decisions are made by selected individuals from the whole group who represent the group. Decision-making becomes more efficient by allowing a smaller number of group members to make decisions for the whole group. Representatives are usually elected by majority vote from a limited number of choices. Their decisions are also made by majority vote.

5. Delegation of Responsibility: A blend of authoritarianism and representative democracy, delegation of responsibility is a way people can turn over control of some decisions to someone else. These may be routine and non-controversial decisions which people simply don't want to be bothered with; or they may be decisions whose importance requires someone with greater expertise. The individual or group delegated to assume the responsibility is usually chosen by a less formal process than election (e.g., self-selection, appointment, hiring, etc.).

6. Consensus: In consensus, a decision is reached when all members of a group give their consent to a proposal. This does not mean everyone agrees completely with the proposal, only that it is sufficiently acceptable for all members to agree to support the group in choosing it. The emphasis in practicing consensus is on listening to everyone's ideas and taking all concerns into consideration in an attempt to find the decision most acceptable to the group as a whole.

OBSERVING DECISIONS

Following the discussion of the six decision-making models, assign students to observe one of the following groups in the process of making a decision. This can be done individually, or in groups of two or three students. The list of groups students receive should also include those they generated in their earlier brainstorming session.

Groups to Observe as They Make Decisions:

* a group of friends trying to decide how to spend a Saturday afternoon

* your family making a decision

* a sports team deciding a strategy

* church youth group making plans

* clubs or other groups, such as 4H, making plans

* student council meetings

* school newspaper editorial meetings

* school faculty meetings (if possible)

* school committee meetings

* a city council, board of aldermen, or other civic organization meeting

* a court of law such as small claims court, traffic court

* a meeting of a business group or a group within a business

* a public interest group meeting

* a legislative meeting on cable TV

* a decision-making meeting run in the Quaker style

Explain to students that they may belong to the group they choose, but for this assignment they are to take on the role of non-participating observer. They are to watch and listen carefully and record what they see and hear on the attached sheet (Observing a Group Decision).

After discussing their written observations and experiences with decision-making models in class, review what students feel are the advantages and disadvantages of each decision-making process. Look especially at the ways and the extent individuals participate, and the extent that different views are considered and represented.

Handout 5: Observing a Group Decision

Your Name

Name of Group Observed

Date of Observation

Duration of Observation

1. What decision was being discussed?

2. How many people were in the group?

3. How many people were participating in the discussion? Was each person heard? How were dissenting ideas handled?

4. What model or combination of models of decision-making did they appear to be using?

5. Was there a leader? Was the leader a facilitator of a group decision, or did he or she directly influence the decision? Was this person effective? Do you know how this leader obtained the position? If so, explain.

6. What roles did people play in helping to make a decision? Were all opinions heard? How did the participants feel about the decision?

7. Do you feel the group was faced with a clear choice? Was a decision reached? How?

8. Could you tell how group members felt as the decision was being made? How? Will they be willing to support the decision? What makes you think so? (Think about and observe such items as energy, participation, language, and emotion.)

9. How did the process used affect the quality of the decision?

10. What else of significance did you observe that we haven't discussed?

11. What conclusions have you reached about decision making?

DECISION MAKING

Most students have been part of groups which used some variation on democratic, authoritarian and random models of decision making. Consensus, however, is largely a new process for students (and adults). We feel it is particularly important for students to experience consensus because it is so different from other approaches. It is also the most participatory of the models to be presented. Direct experience with all these models, however, will better enable students to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of using them. What follows, therefore, are two options for helping students experience these models. Depending on time constraints, the experience of the class and your own personal style you can choose which method, or variation on these will be best for your class.

What decision-making model would work best in choosing an issue? In this activity students will have the opportunity to do something they rarely do -- decide as a group how they will decide. In other words, after discussing and possibly experiencing the ways group decisions are made, they will have the opportunity of choosing one they feel would be most just and effective. While this activity may not be appropriate for all classes because of its abstractness, we feel that it will help students understand group process better and work more effectively together.

OPTION 1: First, small groups of 4 or 5 students will be asked to rank their top three choices from among the issues they brainstormed earlier. Each group is to use the consensus model to decide on their top three choices. After the process, the students discuss how the consensus model worked in their groups and compare the advantages and disadvantages to those of each of the other models. Still using a consensus model, the class then decides on which issue they would like to work on.

OPTION 2: Begin by dividing the class into groups, each of which will use one of three decision-making models to rank their top three choices from among the issues they brainstormed earlier. The models to use are consensus, direct democracy, and representative democracy. The consensus group should have no more than 5 members, the direct democracy should have 8 to 10, and the representative democracy 12 to 15, with 3 or 4 selected as representatives. After the groups have ranked their choices, select a member from the representative democracy group (perhaps a student who does not ordinarily exercise leadership) and have him or her be the authoritarian decision maker for the group. Have the remaining groups use the random choice model to again rank their choices. Finally, discuss with the whole class how each model felt, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of each, and then have them choose the model they would prefer to use.

TRYING CONSENSUS

Because consensus is the most difficult and unfamiliar you may want to spend some time discussing it with the class. You may also want to select the group facilitators and meet separately with them. Distribute the consensus handout and review it with the class.

There are two primary points to emphasize when trying consensus. First is the importance of listening to each person in the group, trying to understand both the content of their arguments and the reasons for their opinions. (The "believing exercise" discussed in the section on "Dialogue" in the Introduction to this book is an effective model for this.) Second, it is important to remember that the goal is to come up with a decision which is best for the group, rather than for each individual in the group, so that the group can work together toward a common goal. It is therefore everyone's responsibility to listen to any member who has a strong contrary opinion, to really believe that there is some good reason for the person to disagree so strongly, and to discover and incorporate a solution which will satisfy that person's needs. At the same time, it is the responsibility of the person with a strong opinion both to help the group understand what it is they disagree about, and to listen to and try to understand why other members of the group don't share that view (especially after it is clear that the group has heard their reasons for dissenting). In addition, students can be told that it is all right to change their opinion after listening to other students talk. After all, the purpose of consensus is to come to an agreement which is acceptable to all, not to get one's own personal view approved. The goal of the small groups is to come up with the three issues which they most want to work on. In experiencing the consensus or other models, you may want to discuss some of the following questions and have students write their personal reactions to this activity in their journals.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What does it feel like to use each of these models? Does it depend on how active you are as a participant? How did you feel about people's participation?

2. Who has most influence over the process? How does this influence come about?

3. Which model were you most used to? Which were you least used to? How does that affect the way you felt about the model?

4. What do the models have in common with each other? What is different? How does the model used affect the quality of the decision? Which model do you think ends with a "better" decision? What does it mean for a decision to be a good one? Does the model affect the way you feel about the decision? Would you be equally willing to carry it out in all cases? What affects this willingness?

5. What is good about each of these models? What is frustrating or disappointing? What situations would each of these models be good for? When would they be the wrong method to use? Did the different models seem to have values inherent in them? What were they (efficiency, group cohesion, participation, simplicity, ease of execution, creativity, etc.)? Which model seemed the fairest? The most inclusive?

Handout 6: How to Use Consensus

Consensus is a process for working together to arrive at a decision which all will agree to. It tries to incorporate the thinking and concerns of all members in order to come up with the best possible decision. This does not mean that everyone will be completely satisfied with a decision. Rather, it must be acceptable enough for all to agree to support it. In order to reach this type of decision, group members listen to each other's ideas and take all concerns into consideration in their discussion.

Consensus is difficult to use because the emphasis is on what's best for the group rather than on getting your own way. Even though your individual priorities might not be selected, it is possible for you to agree that the priorities chosen by the group are good for the group as a whole, as well as for yourself as a member of the group. It is usually helpful to have a facilitator for the discussion.

STEPS TO A CONSENSUS DECISION

1. Take some time for all members of the group to think of their own individual priorities. It might help to think of it this way: If you only had one thing to make a difference on, what would it be? Now what if you only had two things to make a difference on? three?

2. Take turns sharing the priorities you have come up with and the reasons why you think those issues are important. As each of you presents your priorities, the others should be really listening and trying to see it from the speaker's point of view. Make a list on paper of the priorities chosen.

3. Have a discussion, using the list you've created, around the questions (1) What are the most important issues to make a difference on, and why? and (2) On what issue could we as a group make a difference? It's likely that you'll change your views after hearing other people's priorities and reasons. Your first ranking of priorities is important as initial thinking, but may change completely as you see what's best for the group.

4. Check for consensus by taking a straw poll about your priorities. This is essentially a vote which is not binding on the group but rather points to where there is and is not agreement.

5. If there is agreement, you have reached consensus! Congratulate yourselves. If there is not agreement:

6. Go back to sharing the reasons why the issues on which you differ are important. Really understand the main points of concern. Remember it is the responsibility of the group to listen to and address the concerns of a member who disagrees, and the responsibility of that member to listen to the group's reasons for not sharing those views.

7. Discuss what decision would best enable the group to work together toward a common goal. What do we share that we could agree to? What concerns keep us from agreeing? How could we incorporate those concerns into a different decision to which we all could agree? Be creative in addressing concerns and possible solutions. You may come up with a solution you would never have thought of before.

8. Check again for consensus. If you have reached consensus, congratulate yourselves. If not, return to #6. You probably need more information, still, about each other's views. There may come a point, however, where differences seem irreconcilable. If this happens, try to mediate the difference between the members who most strongly hold opposing views. Have each of them state the other's point of view to the other's satisfaction, then switch roles. Remind them that the idea is to come up with a solution that they can both work on, and that each is responsible for creating a solution

9. If differences are still unresolved (this is not very likely), then the group may decide as a whole that it is more important to come to a decision at this time than to make a decision which everyone agrees to. In such a case, some members may agree to "stand aside", allowing the whole group to go ahead with the proposal, even though they personally cannot go along with it; or some other method of deciding the issue may be consensually agreed on.

INSTRUCTIONS TO FACILITATORS

A facilitator makes no decisions for the group, but suggests ways to help the group move forward. He or she works in such a way that the people present at the meeting are aware that they are in charge, that it is their business being conducted, and that all have a role to play. It is important to emphasize that the responsibility of the facilitator is to the group and its work rather than to the individuals within the group. The following are some of the things the facilitator should try to do:

1. Keep the discussion on topic.

2. Provide clarification and rephrasing of complicated or confusing discussion.

3. Summarize underlying agreements and differences in viewpoints.

4. Ensure that all viewpoints are heard and understood by the group as a whole.

5. Identify problems with the group's process and suggest remedies for them — e.g., if someone is monopolizing the discussion, help others find ways to speak.

6. When most viewpoints have been expressed, state the conclusion toward which the group appears to be moving.

CHOOSING A DECISION-MAKING MODEL

To decide finally on the model the class will use to choose an issue, we suggest you again explore the consensus model. Follow the same format as the previous small-group consensus discussions. Have students state which of the five decision-making models (or others they might think of) they prefer and why. Remember to encourage listening and understanding of the reasons for those preferences, and to remind students that the goal is to come up with the best decision for the group as a whole. Take a straw poll and continue the process described above. Discussion may be centered around the following questions:

1. How and why is this a better decision-making model than the others? Does it meet the needs of the most people? Do we need efficiency? whole group support? thoroughness? speed? flexibility? order? etc.

2. Which process gives us the best balance of these and other factors to help us do the best decision-making we can?

3. Suppose your views were in the majority. Which process would you prefer then? Since you can't be sure beforehand whether you'll be in the majority or minority, which system would you like to use? How will we deal with minority views?

4. If students want to give authoritarian power to you as the teacher, you may want to ask: Who is giving me the power? Is it a consensus of the class, or just a majority? What do I want to do about the minority who don't want to give power to me? Am I then representative of those who give me the power? What will happen if I make a choice and students don't like it? Do I want an agreement from them that they'll go along with what I decide no matter what?

CHOOSING AN ISSUE

CONSIDERATIONS

Before choosing an issue, it is important for teachers to consider the questions raised in the introduction about taking a stand on controversial issues. Central to these questions are the implications of community support or opposition to issues students might choose to work on. For example, adults will support many issues students might choose even though they might disagree on tactics and approach. Helping the elderly, easing world hunger, or cutting down on drunk driving are objectives with which few adults would disagree. In other situations, many adults may not agree with students' positions on school-related issues -- e.g., improving lunches or changing homework policies -- but they are likely to recognize that these issues affect students and will motivate them to get involved, as well as helping them develop important skills. What if, on the other hand, students decide to make a difference on more volatile issues such as abortion or the nuclear arms race — issues which are likely to be polarizing to the adult community and raise objections to the validity of students taking action on any issue within the schools? This introduction outlines some appropriate approaches.

The following are additional considerations for teachers whose students choose to address controversial issues:

-- What happens if the students in a class do not agree within an issue -- on abortion rights, for example, where some students are pro-choice and others are anti-abortion? In such cases, should the class consider as a goal educating people to the range and complexity of the problem? Should they explore another alternative, such as looking for a related concern that both sides agree on and would like to address? Students on both sides of the abortion issue might find, for example, that they share a common concern, such as preventing or coping with unwanted pregnancies. Or, students who disagree on the arms race might nevertheless work together to create a nonpartisan dialogue to educate their school and community to the importance of the issue. We recommend this solution over that of two competing groups which might generate animosity and inflexibility on the part of each group.

-- When students consider issues which the community feels are inappropriate for students to be involved in, does the class respect that opinion even though they disagree? If not, how much of the class's energy and effort will go into responding to or trying to change the community's position rather than dealing with the issue?

-- What if students all agree on an issue but their stand and their actions go against the views of the teacher or the rest of the community, or against the views of the teacher and one segment of the community?

-- How does a teacher handle these and other problems while operating effectively within the school system, the community, and his or her own value system?

From the beginning to the end of this project, it is important that principals and parents be kept informed and involved. The support of the school and the community needs to be built and maintained throughout the project.

All of these issues can be addressed with students along with the questions listed in the following section, "The Choice."

THE CHOICE

Your students are now ready to apply their decision-making model to the choice of issue or issues to work on, and whether they wish to work in one large group, or in a number of small ones. To set an atmosphere of conciliation and compromise, you may want to explain that there are many issues that would be equally interesting for everyone to work on. To begin, have each small group share the priorities they came up with in the preceding last activity. Then have students consider the following questions:

-- Which issues are the most important, most inspiring, or most challenging to us? Why? On what issues can we make a difference?

-- Do we want our action to focus on effectively educating ourselves and others about an issue, or do we want to put our energies into researching an issue and working to change a situation we feel is unjust?

-- If we choose an issue that no one around us seems to care much about, how much support can we get? Are we willing to act without a great deal of outside support? What results are we likely to achieve working on our own?

-- If we choose an issue which concerns many people, will this help us? In what ways?

-- Do we want to create our own group to work on this issue or do we want to plug into existing organizations already working on the issue?

-- Are there ways we can bring larger world issues down to a local level and start making a difference in our own communities?

If it becomes clear during the discussion of the issue that a strong minority view has formed, then it may be useful to ask students the following questions about whether to pool energy to work as one large group on one issue, or to work as smaller groups on a number of issues. It is important to be sensitive about whether such a strong minority view has formed.

- -- Do we want to work as separate groups on different issues, or do we want to pool our energies and work as a whole group on a single issue?

- -- How does the ability of our group to have an effect change according to the number of people acting on the same issue? Are we more or less powerful? How?

- -- How would it feel to work in a large group? a small group? How much input will we have as individuals in larger versus smaller groups? Will we feel more or less involved? How much individual responsibility will we have to take in a large group? in a small group? Will we get to know people better in a smaller group? How important is this? How can we apply what we learned from the group-building games to help answer these questions?

- -- Will we have more or less energy if we are working on an issue that is close to our hearts? How do we balance that with the energy to be gained in numbers?

After this discussion, follow the decision-making model that the students selected. When the issue has been chosen, you may want to help students reflect upon what made the class work together well to make this decision and what problems arose that made working together difficult. What might be some ways that the class could overcome these problems? Give students an opportunity to reflect on the class process, their participation, and their feelings about the decision by writing in their journals.

RESOURCES

There are many simulations and educational games which give further insight into community organization, systems of government, and political decision making. Three which are particularly appropriate to this curriculum are STARPOWER, THEY SHOOT MARBLES, DON'T THEY? and PRESSURE.

STARPOWER'S intent is to give insight into behavior and the uses of power in a competitive class-structured society. Participants go through cycles of bargaining and being promoted according to pre-determined or accumulated "wealth". Through the game, players understand more about interpersonal relationships as to behavior under authority, the importance of social systems in determining behavior, and the real world situations which might bring out the same behavior. STARPOWER can be played by 18-35 people, with 30 as optimum. A minimum of two hours is necessary for playing and discussion. STARPOWER was designed by R. Garry Shirts and is available from SIMILE II, P.O. Box 910, Del Mar, CA 92014.

In THEY SHOOT MARBLES, DON'T THEY?, players experiment with creating, enforcing and improving the rules about the way players interact, and form opinions about which rules and rule-making methods work. Participants create their own government and laws. Playing a second time after an analytical discussion offers participants the chance to create another, improved governmental setting. MARBLES can be played by 8-50 players, with 30 as optimum. A minimum of one hour is needed (but two hours is preferable) for playing and half an hour for discussion. MARBLES was designed by Frederick Goodman of the University of Michigan and is available from the Institute of Higher Education Research and Services, University of Alabama, Box 6293, Tuscaloosa, AL 35486.

PRESSURE's purpose is to have students understand decision making in local governments, particularly those in suburban and small urban areas. The game gives insights into the role of pressure and of special interest groups. Students role-play council meetings and lobbying efforts. They are then thrown into a crisis to play out the process in relation to a certain issue. The game takes approximately three weeks. PRESSURE is available from Interact, Box 262, Lakeside, CA 92040.

An excellent resource catalogue of these and many other simulations is Coppard, Larry C. and Frederick L. Goodman, Urban Gaming/Simulation '77: An Ongoing Conference for Educators and Trainers, Ann Arbor: School of Education, University of Michigan, 1977.

RESEARCHING THE ISSUE

In this activity, students will have the opportuntiy to study the issue they have chosen to work on. In later activities, they will use this knowledge to determine which actions would be most appropriate to making a difference on their issue. Below we have outlined the steps to a useful research approach. To illustrate this approach, we have used a hypothetical problem — that of inadequate school lunches. This problem is only meant to serve as a model. Because most teachers are familiar with research designs we have kept this discussion brief, expanding it in the areas where it is different than a traditional research approach.

Step 1. Define the Problem: Begin by defining the problem. If students' initial statement is, "We don't like school lunches," it would be helpful to have them restate their problem in more specific terms, such as, "We don't like school lunches because they don't taste good and they are too expensive."

Step 2. Determine the Information Needed to Reach a Judgment: Explore with students what they might need to know about this issue before proposing a solution. Brainstorm the questions they might need to have answered.

Step 3. Research Why Things Are the Way They Are: Students will first need to find out why the lunches are the way they are before they can determine how or if they want to change school lunches. In order to answer this question, they would need to gather information from the cafeteria staff, the administration, and the school committee. Their efforts will be more fruitful if you have set the stage for this by informing key people, such as the cafeteria director and the principal, that the class is undertaking this as a project.

Students may assume that they have the answers at this point, even though they have not yet formulated the questions. They may easily find themselves approaching the process from an adversarial point of view, ready to find fault, in order to correct a perceived injustice. Confronting or attacking people you perceive to be standing in your way is not the best way to win allies or to convince others of your point of view. At this point it is important to practice with students an approach which has sometimes been called the "believing exercise." (For a discussion of the believing exercise, see the section on "Dialogue" in the Introduction to this book.) The purpose of the exercise is to try to see another person's point of view, to try to believe it, to understand where that person's concerns lie and what that person's problems are. This will make it more likely that people will support your efforts or at least respect your point of view.

Have the students role play an interview with cafeteria workers they might be considering interviewing. Give them time to prepare questions which will give the cafeteria workers the chance to explain what problems they face, how they see the job, what their frustrations are, what they think of the lunch program, and what their ideas are for improving it.

Then ask the student to share some ideas the students have for improvement and get the workers' reactions. Ask them to practice suspending, momentarily, their own beliefs and assume that the person they are talking with is knowledgeable and correct in their viewpoint. The idea is to believe that this person is right and, if we have difficulty with this, asking questions that help us understand how this person sees the situation. Have students practice asking questions that seek understanding rather than encourage debate and defensiveness. Students can respond to differences in point of view by saying, "So what you are saying is..." Rather than challenging a person on a point they disagree with, they can practice saying, "I don't understand the point you just made. You could you explain why you see it that way."

After the actual interviews, students should discuss the situation from the point of view of the cafeteria workers. They should first look for the points with which they most agree. Only after doing this, should you enter into a critic of these positions, looking for inconsistencies and incorrect assumptions.

Step 4. Gather Additional Information and Opinions: At this point, the class might decide to survey other students, faculty, administrators, and parents about the school lunch program. When addressing students, faculty, and parents, they could ask such questions as: What would you like for lunch? What is a "good" lunch? Where does money for lunches come from? How much money is available? What do "good" lunches cost? What can most people in our school afford to pay for lunches? How many people bring lunches? buy lunches? What kind of food do people bring for lunch?

A second research topic might be "What are other school lunch programs like?" Students could interview people from other schools to determine whether their lunch programs are considered to be more successful. Other sources of information would be nutritionists, doctors, even restaurant chefs. An important question to ask would be what special nutritional needs do adolescents have. Students would need to find out what laws (state and national) affect the funding and quality of school lunches. It may be relevant and timely to find out the positions of various candidates on the subject of school lunches.

Students can also gather information through newspapers, magazines and books. These findings can be shared with the class. For other issues, this research might involve library work, contacting public or private organizations, and writing to government agencies and elected representatives. This would be an appropriate time to have students invite people representing divergent viewpoints to speak to the class.

Step 5. Evaluate the Information: Once the information has been gathered, students will need to evaluate it. Useful questions for evaluating information might include the following: What information can we use? What have we discovered that confirms our original views, or that requires us to modify or discard them completely?

Step 6. Take a Stand: Finally, help students redefine the problem and take a stand. At this point students might articulate their view as, "School lunches need to be improved, yet still be affordable," and propose a solution to the problem. This view is more positive and specific than the original. This process of research, evaluation and judgement may be applied to any class issue.

From these brief exercises, students will discover that the truth is often more complex than they would wish it to be; that different people each see a piece of the truth; and that by listening carefully and considering all the pieces of truth that emerge as they seek information, they will be able to arrive at broader solutions. They will also establish a dialogue among people concerned with the problem rather than polarizing them.

CASE HISTORIES: RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPING A STRATEGY

In the preceding steps students have chosen an issue or issues on which to work, and they have developed their opinions on the issue(s). The next step is deciding on objectives and tactics; that is, answering the questions: What do we want to do? How can we accomplish this?

The use of examples, historical and/or current, of individuals or groups acting to bring about change, will be helpful at this point. Through the stories of other groups' actions, students will picture more clearly the day-to-day tasks that may be involved in their plan. After all, many glamorous goals require mundane preparations and large time commitments. Also, students may not believe that they really can make a difference until they see the overall process broken into smaller manageable pieces.

Examples should also be useful in helping students understand more about the role of individual and group participation. While only some causes are led by famous and memorable individuals, all movements, by definition, involve groups of people working together carrying out all the little pieces of a campaign or project.

Historical examples add a sense of time as well. Major reforms rarely happen quickly, but perhaps wouldn't happen at all if not for individuals and groups continually working, sometimes over very long periods of time, on various aspects of a major cause. Each person or group involved works on whatever aspect he, she or they can, chiseling away at the problem bit by bit.

Finally, historical examples help students understand the background and broad social context of various issues. The causes and the context of their chosen topic may suggest the use of certain tactics or the avoidance of others.

There are, of course, an infinite number of possible examples in history and in contemporary times. We have included a few accounts: Dr. Martin Luther King and the Montgomery bus boycott; students in Cambridge, Massachusetts, organizing a nuclear weapons freeze petition campaign; students in McLean, Virginia, saving a forest; Cesar Chavez organizing the lettuce boycott; citizens in New Haven, Connecticut, organizing a crime watch; and residents in Boston, Massachusetts, establishing intergenerational living situation. Teachers may use these models or other examples with their classes. The choice may depend on the type of class involved, whether it is a course on United States history, contemporary issues, labor history, women's studies, or any of many others.

Use each example to help students focus on their own choice of tactics for their coming project. Some questions you may wish to use for each of the cases are:

-- What was the cause addressed in each case?

-- What differing positions were expressed and why did those people take those positions?

-- What tactics were used?

-- What tactics were effective? less effective?

-- Were the tactics consistent with the goals? Did the tactics focus on immediate problems or long term solutions?

-- What roles did different people play in each account?

-- What was critical in making their effort a success?

-- Was a goal reached or partially reached?

After discussing these accounts, turn the students' attention toward current examples. Using the same questions, have the students find out what tactics are being used on issues in their own communities. Possible sources for this information have probably come up in previous discussions and activities, but if more are needed, have the class brainstorm by asking: Who is working to make a change in our town/city/country/world? Encourage them to consider governmental and non-governmental agencies, neighborhood organizations, individuals, etc.

If using this unit during an election year, students will find a wealth of information on tactics from candidates' campaign offices, political parties, lobbying groups, voter registration organizers, etc. Ask them to contact and visit an organization attempting to create change and write a short report on their strategy and tactics.

Handout 7: "Saving a Forest"

(Profile of a student action adapted from Decision-Making in a Nuclear Age. Robert Snow, Coordinator, Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.)

Twelve miles from downtown Washington, D.C. lie 336 acres of forest and waterfalls, one of the last large pieces of wild land to be found within the suburban perimeter of the nation's capital. It is a haven for walking, camping, wading and swimming. The land was owned by Edward Burling, who spent his weekends in a cabin on the property, and kept going there into his 80's and 90's. When Mr. Burling died at 96 in 1966, the 336 acres were left in trust for his descendants. The trustees' duty under law was to get as good a return as possible on the estate for the heirs. They soon decided that they could not afford to leave so much land idle and still pay the real estate taxes, which amounted to about $30,000 a year.

The trustees approached U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to see whether the Federal Government would buy the land as a park. Although no figures were formally discussed, it became known that the trustees would ask about $2 million, and Secretary Udall saw no prospect of finding such a sum. In 1970, the land was sold to a real estate development firm, Miller and Smith, for about $2.4 million. Miller and Smith intended to build 309 homes on the Burling Tract to sell at $68,000 to $100,000 each. The land comes under the jurisdiction of Fairfax County, which had drawn up a master plan for development of the area. As Miller and Smith began to make application to appropriate county officials, conservation groups in the area became alarmed and began to organize opposition to the Miller and Smith venture.

The Fairfax County Board of Supervisors (nine elected officials who govern the county) discussed the plan at their meeting of March 11, 1970. Attending that meeting were adult conservationists (especially from the Old Georgetown Pike and Potomac River Association), the developers, and high school students. A few of the students were aware of the issue and stood firmly opposed to the development. But most of them were simply observing a county board meeting as a class project to see how local government worked.

Those who opposed the Miller and Smith development plan argued that the land should be purchased by the county as a park. The cost could be from $2.4 to $5 million. However, they pointed out that the new Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, had already offered half the purchase price, or up to $1.5 million from federal contingency funds if the county and state could raise the other half. They noted that $600,000 in county funds had already been raised in a general bond issue to acquire a district park. They criticized the developers' plan on the ground that (a) 77 percent of the building sites would be on slopes with grades of 15 percent or more, presenting the danger of serious erosion; (b) sewage and drainage plans were inadequate; (c) the land the developers had reserved for park space and nature trails was inaccessible. For example, a section to be used for this purpose along the river floods periodically.

Miller and Smith argued that their plan was ecologically responsible. They pointed to these parts of their plan: Houses would be clustered in such a way as to leave 52 percent of the land in open spaces, including the palisades and a strip of 26 acres along the Potomac and Scott's Run for a hiking trail. Silt collection ponds would be used during the five-year construction period, with no more than 17 acres graded at one time to keep down erosion. The builders reminded the citizens that this development did not violate any provision of the existing master plan, which provided for a minimum speace of one acre per residence. After four hours of testimony, nearly all of it favoring purchase of the land as a park, the board approved the Miller and Smith plan for a housing development.

"They didn't even listen to our testimony," grumbled Richard DeZonia in the lobby after the meeting. A 17-year-old senior at Langley High School, Richard was incensed. "Their minds were made up before the meeting began. What a farce!"

"I don't think the battle is over yet," said Susan Armstrong, a friend from Langley. Susan went on to point out, "I really think the citizens of this area, if it were put to a vote, would support our buying the land for a park. We've got to show those supervisors that people want a park. Let's talk to John Adams."

John Adams, an attorney for the Old Georgetown Pike and Potomac River Association, was one of the few adults who wanted to keep fighting for the park.

"You can't just have a county-wide vote any time you want," he explained, "but you could try circulating a petition, see how many people will sign, and if you get a good response, present the petition at the appeals hearing next month."

The next Saturday, the students did some pilot canvassing on their own. In two hours, ten students visited 140 homes and got 152 signatures. About 80 percent of the people contacted were willing to sign, but there was no answer at about one-third of the houses. In spite of Susan's reminder that canvassing in one's own neighborhood might be easier than in a strange place, the students were delighted. Of course, they also met some hard-core opponents who complained of high taxes, corrupt politicians, and arrogant kids trying to run the world for themselves.

Richard figured: "We've got to hit about 17,000 votes -- figure two to a house, that's 8,500 houses. Ten of us covered 140 houses in two hours; that's seven houses per hour per person. If we worked a six-hour day, each person could cover 42 houses. To cover 8,500 houses would take 220 people (8,500 divided by 42). We could split it into two days and cover the whole area if we could get 110 kids to petition each day."

Gary Wright, who hadn't said much until now, opened up. "Let's get to the nitty-gritty. Where are we going to find the bodies, and how are we going to organize them? We're dead unless we find the kids -- and they know what they're doing, where to report, what streets to take. I think we ought to organize it by subdivision or neighborhood, get a captain for each area, and let the captain recruit workers and lay out the street assignments.

"But even before they start volunteering, we should officially announce the campaign over the PA at school, put posters around the school and town, and articles in the paper. It would be great if we got out enough publicity so that by the time we get to their doors, the people already know the story."

On a dreary Monday morning, the PA system at Langley High School blasted out: "Help us save the Burling Tract. We're going to canvass the Dranesville District on Saturday, April 4th. We need hundreds of volunteers. If you're interested, there will be an organizational meeting at 4 p.m. Tuesday in the auditorium. If you can't make the meeting, but are interested in helping, please sign up on the sheet outside the main office or contact Richard DeZonia, 976-4894.

By Friday afternoon, April 3, the students had found about 50 volunteers, who attended a meeting in a local church. The kids were divided into ten teams of five, each with a captain who had street maps of the area and who assigned workers to specific areas. Each petitioner was given a fact sheet that read: "FACT SHEET ON THE BURLING TRACT. THE BURLING TRACT IS 336 ACRES OF VIRTUALLY UNDESTROYED FOREST LAND..."

The sheet went on to point out that the land was unique, possessing beauty, wildlife, and natural vegetation. It also said that the developers could not guard against erosion and that their new construction would overload the existing sewage treatment plant. The area, it stated, should become a much-needed parkland. And the cost to the typical McLean taxpayer would be less than $20 a year over a three-year period -- since the Federal Government would pay half the purchase price.

Each petitioner was also given written instructions, including these points:

1. If a person is strongly opposed, don't waste time arguing, but politely excuse yourself and thank him for listening.

2. If a person is in favor, ask for a signature, and ask whether the spouse might also be interested in signing.

3. If they offer money, request a check payable to Burling Tract Fund. Give a receipt for any cash they offer and turn in a copy of the receipt to Richard, and the money too!

4. If a person is undecided, try gentle persuasion, but don't be pushy.

5. Record the addresses where there was no answer. Try to go back to these.

Saturday was a beautiful day — about 65 degrees, with a sunny blue sky. Fifty tireless workers pounded the pavements and knocked on the doors of several subdivisions in the McLean area. They collected 993 signatures. They continued their efforts a few more days. By Wednesday, April 8, the students had collected signatures from 2,362 voters. The petitions were presented to the Board of Supervisors.

Richard and his friends were shocked, however, when the Board of Supervisors, after hearing several people testify for the park and after being presented with the petitions, voted for the real estate development. Only one supervisor, who had been an ardent supporter and who assisted the students in dealing with government authorities, voted for the park.

As Richard recalled, "During a ten-minute intermission we descended on those supervisors for an intensive lobbying effort. 'How can you possibly defy the wishes of the people you represent?' we pressed. When the board reconvened, they voted to request the County Park Authority to study the possibility of a park on the Burling Tract. We were delighted that we hadn't yet been wiped out."

A few days later, Sally Hoffman bubbled with excitement as she reported that Mr. Strang, a local printer, would supply bumper stickers at 10 cents each. They could be sold for 25 cents to raise money for the campaign. "I told him to make 1,000, and he'll have them done by Friday." Some of the students had second thoughts as to whether Sally should have acted without getting the group's approval. Suppose they couldn't sell enough stickers to pay the $100 to the printer? Who would be responsible for the bill?

Before they could discuss the matter, Sally came out with more news. "I've met reporters from The Wasington Post and the Star. They and the two local papers want us to keep them informed."

To prepare for the Park Authority hearing on April 29, Susan suggested that all people who signed the petition be called and invited to the hearing.

"I wonder whether that's necessary," replied Jeff. "If most of them spoke, there would be a lot of hot air and uninformed testimony. Maybe we should select speakers more carefully."

"But one of our main points is that thousands of people want a park, not more housing. The best way to make that point is to let people speak for themselves."

Jeff insisted, "Politicians are very sensitive about being pushed into something through emotional pressure -- they don't want to be intimidated, and they could react against us if the pressure got too great."

"Pressure -- that's where it's at in politics," reminded Paul. "But I'm worried that our opponents might start applying more pressure. Maybe they would stay home if we kept quiet, using just a few good speakers."

"That really burns me," exploded Susan. "What kind of hypocrites are we? We condemn the politicians for secrecy and not listening to the people, and now we ourselves are talking about slipping something by the people."

"I don't have any obligation to help my adversaries beat me," countered Paul. "My job right now is not to help all citizens participate in government, but to save the damn land for a park."

On April 29, in the Langley High School Auditorium, the Park Authority heard the testimony from dozens of people, most of them in favor of a park. The students even requested that the Park Authority view a film called "Children and Trees," made by Philip Vaughn, a student in Iowa. The film contrasted the laughter and wonderment of children frolicking in the woods and meadows with the roar of bulldozers creating barren wastelands. At one point, Grafield Kass, age 79, stood up and offered to loan the county $1.5 million at 5 percent interest so that it would be easier to finance the acquisition of the Burling Tract. He also pledged $25,000 as an outright gift if the county decided to buy Burling. He did this, he said, because he was so impressed with the way the students were working for something they believed in.

In spite of the enthusiasm for the park, opposition came from significant sources. A representative from Little League and other sports groups called the proposal "a waste of Dranesville District money." The Pimmit Hills Civic Association suggested that approving the park would be giving in to special pressure groups, and that it would create a police problem because of vandalism, drinking, etc. The Fairfax County Chamber of Commerce argued that the tax levy required to buy the park would fall heavily on local industries and commercial businesses. The representative said, "Let's face it, this county is broke, and there are many other problems such as low-cost housing, highway safety, and juvenile delinquency that we have to face."

The following evening the Park Authority voted unanimously that it was feasible and desirable to have the District Park located on the Burling Tract. Having received this recommendation from the Park Authority, the Board of Supervisors then requested a ruling from the Planning Commission, the body that coordinates use and development of county properties.

The commission had to decide whether to place Burling on the Public Facilities Map, the official expression by the county of its intention to buy a piece of land. The commission hearing was held a month later on May 28 in Fairfax City, the site of the county offices.

Richard recalled: "It lasted until 3 o'clock in the morning. Speakers were surrounded by a sea of pro-park faces, which must have made it rather uncomfortable for our opponents, but easier for us. There were at least 150 students from all over the county, about 15 faculty members, and a lot of parents.

"The commission let the students speak at the beginning of the hearing. We were careful to include a variety of approaches in our presentations: the signed petitions; factual information about the consequences of a development versus a park — this included charts, maps and statistics; an appeal to save the park simply for its beauty. We showed the film "Children and Trees" and concluded with a folk song written by Susan.

That night the Planning Commission voted unanimously to place the Burling Tract on the Public Facilities Map.

Where would the county get the money to buy the park? It was estimated that Miller and Smith would not sell the land for much under $3.5 million. That amount could be raised if the voters in the Dranesville District would tax themselves up to $1.5 million extra. This, if added to the $1.5 million offered by the Secretary of the Interior and the $600,000 earlier allocated by the Park Authority, would total $3.5 million.

The Board of Supervisors finally authorized a referendum to determine whether the voters would tax themselves up to $1.5 million for this purpose. The referendum was set for July 14. The students took a break for a week to study for exams, but decided to start a referendum campaign on June 8. They met with a number of the adults interested in establishing the Burling Campaign Committee.

The group agreed to organize themselves into the following committees, each with at least three volunteer co-chairpeople (young people and adults): Speaker Bureau Committee; Voter Turnout Committee; Press and Publicity Committee; Campaign Rally Committee; Contributions and Pledges Committee. Jeff wrote a press release announcing the formation of these committees and giving names and phone numbers of the co-chairpeople.

The students were committed to another door-to-door campaign to explain to the voters why Burling should be saved as a park and why they should vote to tax themselves for it on July 14. (Signers of the earlier petition had not necessarily agreed to tax themselves, nor was the earlier petition a legal referendum.) In writing a new brochure, the "Burling defenders" had to deal with a conflict among people who favored the park: the ballplayers versus the nature lovers. As Richard recalled: "The 'active' recreationists claimed there wouldn't be enough land on Burling available for playing fields We tried in the brochure to reassure both sides." Since financial concerns were uppermost in the voters' minds, the brochure also dealt with that issue in detail. As outlined in the brochure, the park would include:

-- untrammeled nature, where, in the mood of Thoreau, "The mind may freely wander."

- swings, ball fields, and tennis courts for active players.
- hiking trails, tying into the Potomac Heritage Trail and a trail down Scott's Run
- a nature center for the study of ecology in natural surroundings
- a stable and a bridle trail
- fishing, canoeing, and boating on the Potomac
- rock-climbing on the palisades
- a skating rink for wintertime
- a natural amphitheater for community programs.

According to Richard, the day of the referendum, July 14, came much too soon: "Our activities that day were aimed at getting voters out to the polls, and once they were there, reminding them to vote Yes for the Burling Tract. We set up headquarters at a house with two telephone lines, and kept it staffed with someone to relay messages, arrange rides for people, and line up people to work in areas where we were generally shorthanded.

"We had people at each of the polling stations all day, handing out pro-park literature, sitting directly across from people handing out anti-park literature. Other people were 'floating' from poll to poll, keeping the workers refreshed with cold drinks and hot coffee, making sure that they had enough leaflets, and solving various crises. Other people rang doorbells, reminding people of how important it was for them to come out and cast their votes. We had people stationed at each poll to phone in results as soon as they became available after the polls closed. We went to Jack's house to wait for the returns. As the results from the polls came in, we could tell it would be close. After two hours of waiting, we finally learned by radio the final vote: 3,208 for Burling; 2,758 against. We had won by 450 votes.

In spite of the petitions, the hearings, and the referendum, on July 16, Miller and Smith bulldozers blocked the access roads to the Burling Tract. The company intended to proceed with its development plans. They were within their legal rights since they still owned the land. The county had not even made an offer to purchase. County officials hoped to negotiate a settlement out of court, but if this was not possible, they would have to file a condemnation suit. All of this would take some time. But the students wondered what would stop the bulldozers.

"We had a silent vigil in front of the developers' office for three days before they started bulldozing, but on July 27, they began anyway." Several acres of trees were leveled in a few days as the developers rejected a county offer of $2.5 million.

But now Senators Brooke (R-Mass.), Harris (D-Okla.), and Spong (D-

Va.) lent their influence to the student course. So did Virginia's Governor, Linwood Holton, who wrote a letter endorsing the park and indicating a willingness to search for state monies to assist in the purchase.

Pro-park advocates urged the County Board to request a cour injunction, ordering that bulldozing be stopped to give the county time to negotiate with the developers.

While waiting for the Board of Supervisors to make up their minds, 50 to 75 young people trucked off to the woods each morning at 6 a.m. Many stayed until 10 a.m., displaying their signs to the bulldozer operators and singing their own version of "This Land Is My Land".

On August 5, the Board of Supervisors agreed to the terms of the injunction and eventually negotiated a purchase of the land for $3.6 million. The students' fight to save Burling and their victory were soon publicized in such national news media as The New York Times and National Wildlife magazine.

By January, 1972, Richard reported, "Since the battle, Burling is used extensively by people of all ages and is a major recreation area in McLean. There has been a certain amount of vandalism, drugs, and other illegal activity but, according to the Fairfax County Police, there has been no more than you would be likely to find at any other county park."

Discussion Questions:

1. Why did the students and other county residents feel strongly about creating a park on the Burling estate?

2. What were Miller and Smith's arguments for their housing development plan? Are there any other ways the county might have benefitted from their plan?

3. How well did the students and citizens educate themselves about both sides of the issue?

4. Why do you think the students became actively involved in this issue? What motivated them? What did they get out of it personally?

5. What specific tactics did students take in their campaign? How effective was each action?

6. What do you think the students learned from this experience about: the political process? taking a stand? communicating and working with others? taking responsibility? dealing with obstacles? making decisions?

7. How important was each of the following: students' commitment? support from other citizens? press coverage? political endorsements? skillful organization?

Handout B

Shared Living

Old and Young Under One Roof

by Victoria Irwin

The pleasant sounds of dinner-time conversations waft out from the dining area inside a graceful 19th-century home on Marlborough Street in Boston's Back Bay.

Around two tables, people catch up on one another's news.

Christine asks Nathan about his sister. Sally tells a guest how budget cuts will affect the school district where she teaches. Rachel asks everyone to give a cheer for Alice, who prepared the satisfying meal of beef, fish, potatoes, green beans, salad, and a scrumptious cake drizzled with bitter chocolate.

It could be a family home or boardinghouse, but there is a difference. The Shared Living House is an intergenerational cooperative housing venture that offers a lot of warmth among the 14 unrelated members, who range in age from 24 to 84, with every decade in between represented.

Created by the joint effort of the *Back Bay Aging Concerns Committee* (BBACC) and the *Boston Gray Panthers*, the Shared Living project is designed to overcome ageism and the isolation of city life. It allows people who can't afford to live alone (or who just don't want to) to live in an interdependent household, while maintaining an independent life. House members, who pay rents from $148 to $265, have their own separate rooms, can make their own meals except for Monday dinners, and share household tasks.

The mix of generations is maintained at 70 percent over and 30 percent under age 55, Rents make the project self-supporting, although grants have been used for the initial purchase and kitchen renovations and storm windows.

People join Shared Living for various reasons. Rachel, who arrived in June, was ousted from one apartment when it "went condo." She later moved to a home for the aged.

"I wanted to come back to where the magnolias bloom," she says, referring to the Public Garden and tree-lined streets of Back Bay. How does she like living in a household with others of disparate backgrounds?

"I love it," she says, during a tour of her spacious bedroom, replete with pictures of her daughter and grandchildren. "I like living with people of all ages."

"But I have a big problem with the chores," she confides. "I am supposed to sweep the front walkway. I tell the leaves to fall on either side of our building, but they don't pay attention!"

Julie, the youngest resident, became interested in Shared Living after she saw a sign at BBACC headquarters.

"I'm concerned about the problems of aging," says Julie, an assistant librarian at a historical library. "And I lived three months alone and didn't like it. My parents feel better about me being here than in a studio."

Her friends admit her living situation is unusual, but they are impressed with the building, as would be anyone who has combed ads for affordable apartments in Boston. Set in a quiet and pleasant neighborhood, there are some large rooms, the kitchen is modern, and the woodwork and architectural detail are delightful. A roof with a garden offers a spot for breakfast or picnics overlooking the dormer windows and rooftops of other brick homes.

"I fell in love with the house," he says. "I love to help fix it up." Paul, who is retired but quite active in community groups, says his experience at Shared Living has been "very good," although it is the first group-living situation he's been in since the military.

As in any group-living situation, Shared Living House members learn to live with one another's idiosyncrasies, which may be as simple as eating habits. At the dinner table, Kay Thomas, co-facilitator of the home with her husband, Ed, looks at the choice of food.

"Could I have your fish, since we don't eat red meat?" Kay asks one of the other diners, offering instead the dish with beef.

Christine, who is very active in elder affairs, is a two-year resident.

"The most difficult concept for me has been sharing," she says. "You have to maintain your autonomy, but also stay open to the other people. There have been hard times. But you stretch and grow no matter how old you are."

The population in the Bay home is relatively stable. Only two members have left in the last fiscal year, but five new members have moved in. It might be because people who come to the Shared Living House have a commitment in mind.

"I wanted someplace I could benefit from and contribute to," she says. She's happy with her choice. ☐

Copyright © 1982 Christian Science Monitor. Reprinted with permission.

Handout 9: Crime Watch

From Family Weekly, August 22, 1982

CRIME

"Crime watches," says one source, "reduce residential burglaries by 20 to 90 percent." Equally important, they can renew community spirit.

Fearful Citizens Fight Back

By Seth Kreisberg

It is twilight on Dwight Street in New Haven, Conn. The neighborhood has been plagued in recent years by robberies and prostitution, but this evening all seems quiet. Two residents — Caroline Thompson, a nurse and grandmother, and Clay Howe, a doctoral student and father of two small children — walk down the tree-lined street. Eyes alert, ears open to unusual noises, they carefully observe all activity.

Thompson and Howe constitute the Thursday-evening crime patrol of Block Watch 272. Their job is to watch, listen and report suspicious activity to the police. "We got tired of sitting in our houses and living in fear," explains Thompson.

Block Watch 272 was formed in 1980 by Thompson, Howe and their neighbors. They began by organizing a telephone network, the purpose of which was to encourage residents to notify neighbors and the police of any unusual activity on the block. Five months later they initiated a street patrol. Since then burglaries have decreased by 33 percent and robberies and larcenies by 57 percent.

What has happened on Dwight Street reflects a growing trend. Across the country, citizens are forming neighborhood crime watches. A typical watch is made up of residents of an apartment building, a single block or a neighborhood of anywhere from two to 20 blocks. It includes men and women of all ages and occupations who have banded together for protection.

These cooperative self-help groups are usually trained by local police crime-prevention units to recognize and report suspicious behavior and crimes in progress. Residents also receive instruction on how to safeguard their homes against burglary as well as how to assist in protecting their neighbors' properties when they are away.

Most neighborhood crime watches meet monthly to exchange work schedules, vacation plans and phone numbers. In addition, groups place signs prominently in their neighborhoods to announce the presence of a crime watch. The key to their effectiveness, however, is a greater awareness of what is going on in the neighborhood and increased willingness on the part of residents to contact the police for assistance.

Although many watches do not patrol their neighborhoods, more and more have begun to do so. They work in unarmed pairs, in cars and on foot — and often have walkie-talkies.

Whether actively watching or actively patrolling neighborhoods, members of crime watches have no desire to replace the police. "Any citizen anticrime group must be involved with the police department," explains Jack Beecham, director of the California Crime Prevention Center in Sacramento (an umbrella organization for crime-watch programs in California, operated through the attorney general's office). "The neighborhood watch acts as the 'eyes and ears' of the police. It is the police who have the responsibility for crime prevention and criminal apprehension."

The numbers of crime watches are burgeoning nationwide. In North Carolina alone, there are over 9,000 organized watches. In California, where April was declared "Neighborhood Crime Watch Month," there is hardly a major police jurisdiction without an organized crime-watch program. In Lowell, Mass., more than 3,000 citizens are involved in similar programs; in Tampa, Fla., there are more than 15,000 watch members; and New York City has more than 150,000.

Not limited to cities, crime watches have been established in many suburbs, such as Westchester County, just north of New York City. Even rural communities, such as Mays Landing in Atlantic County, N.J., and Springville in Wyoming County, Penn., have responded to rising crime rates with citizen patrols.

This trend represents a grass-roots backlash against the steady rise in crime that marked the past decade. In the 1970's, crime increased by as much as 15 percent a year in urban, suburban and rural communities alike. Last year, according to Federal statistics, a house was burglarized every 13 seconds.

"Citizens are realizing that they cannot afford the luxury of letting the police alone be responsible for their safety," observes Carolyn Picagli, a staff member of the New Haven Police Department crime-prevention unit assigned to assist the block-watch programs. "They are beginning to take responsibility for themselves."

New Haven has one of the best-organized programs in the country. In the past four years, its Block Watch Program has grown to more than 9,000 people.

Picagli credits the block watches for contributing significantly to the city's recent decline in burglaries. "Watches reduce residential burglaries by 20 to 90 percent," she states.

These statistics are echoed by studies around the country. A recent survey by the sheriff's office of San Diego, for example, found that the chance of being burglarized in a community without a watch is one in 45, while the chance of burglary in a community with a neighborhood watch is one in 1,000.

Local law-enforcement officers generally support the concept of the crime watch — although this wasn't always the case. "In the beginning, the police department was afraid it would become a vigilante group," recalls Irvin Zeidenberg, president of PEOPLE New Haven Block Association Inc. "This is a legitimate fear in law enforcement. But after a year or so, the police realized that we wanted to work with them and act as their eyes and ears. Now they support us 100 percent."

In many communities, the organization of a crime watch is the beginning of a renewed community spirit. "Crime was the catalyst on our block," explains Zeidenberg. "We realized that we were not looking out for each other and it can't be that way. We have made a dent in the crime problem and it's nice to see a neighborhood back together again. We've put the brakes on crime and made new friends." FW

How to Start Your Own Crime Watch

If you are interested in forming a crime watch in your neighborhood, contact your local police department's crime-prevention office. Information is also available from state crime-prevention programs, which are usually associated with either your state attorney general's office or the Department of Public Safety.

Seth Kreisberg is a freelance writer specializing in consumer and self-help topics.

Discussion Questions: Shared Living and Crime Watch Articles

"Shared Living: Old and Young Under One Roof"

1. What is the Shared Living House? How does it work? How is it managed?
2. Why is it important that there be a range of generations living in the house?
3. Why was it created? Why have people joined?
4. What is ageism? Do you know of any examples of ageism?
5. List the ways in which the lives of residents might have been unpeaceful before they moved into the Shared Living House.
6. List all the ways in which life is now peaceful for the residents.
7. What do you think are the crucial elements that are making the Shared Living House successful?
8. What are some of the difficulties that might arise in such a living situation? Why do you think members might feel it was worth those possible hassles to live in the house?

"Peaceful Citizens Fight Back"

1. What is a crime watch? How does it work and who does it?
2. What is a "cooperative self-help group"?
3. Why was the crime watch on Dwight Street started? In what ways was life not peaceful on Dwight Street?
4. Why has life become less "fearful" since the watch has been instituted? Is it just because of the fall in the crime rate?
5. Since instituting the crime watch, how has life become more peaceful on Dwight Street?
6. How is a crime watch different from a "vigilante group"? Why is this an important distinction?
7. How important is cooperation and trust for the success of a crime watch? In your conception of peace?
8. In the last paragraph: As a result of the crime watch, what has happened to Irv Zeidenberg's community? Why do you think the crime watch has had this effect? How, then, does a crime watch help create a greater sense of peace than just the absence of fear and the lowering of crime rates?
9. Is there a crime watch in your community? Discuss. Why not start one?

Comparison and Contrast

1. What is similar about the way in which the Shared Living House and the Crime Watch were started and run?
2. How important are cooperation and interdependence to both situations and visions of peace? Why are they so important?

Handout 10: The Organizer's Tale -- Cesar Chavez

(Cesar Chavez was an organizer of the Latin farm workers on the American West. The following article is from Ramparts Magazine, July, 1966.)

It really started for me 16 years ago in San Jose, California, when I was working on an apricot farm. We figured he was just another social worker doing a study of farm conditions, and I kept refusing to meet with him. But he was persistent. Finally, I got together some of the rough element in San Jose. We were going to have a little reception for him to teach the gringo a little bit of how we felt. There were about 30 of us in the house, young guys mostly. I was supposed to give them a signal -- change my cigarette from my right hand to my left, and then we were going to give him a lot of hell. But he started talking and the more he talked, the more wide-eyed I became and the less inclined I was to give the signal. A couple of guys who were pretty drunk at the time still wanted to give the gringo the business, but we got rid of them. This fellow was making a lot of sense, and I wanted to hear what he had to say.

His name was Fred Ross, and he was an organizer for the Community Service Organization (CSO) which was working with Mexican-Americans in the cities. I became immediately really involved. Before long I was heading a voter registration drive. All the time I was observing the things Fred did, secretly, because I wanted to learn how to organize, to see how it was done. I was impressed with his patience and understanding of people. I thought this was a tool, one of the greatest things he had.

It was pretty rough for me at first. I was changing and had to take a lot of ridicule from the kids my age, the rough characters I worked with in the fields. They would say, "Hey, big shot. Now that you're a politico, why are you working here for 65 cents an hour?"

After six months of working every night in San Jose, Fred assigned me to take over the CSO chapter in Decoto. It was a tough spot to fill. I would suggest something, and people would say, "No, let's wait till Fred gets back," or "Fred wouldn't do it that way." This is pretty much a pattern with people, I discovered, whether I was put in Fred's position, or later, when someone else was put in my position. After the Decoto assignment I was sent to start a new chapter in Oakland. Before I left, Fred came to a place in San Jose called the Hole-in-the-Wall and we talked for half an hour over coffee. He was in a rush to leave, but I wanted to keep him talking; I was that scared of my assignment.

There were hard times in Oakland. First of all, it was a big city and I'd get lost every time I went anywhere. Then I arranged a series of house meetings. I would get to the meeting early and drive back and forth past the house, too nervous to go in and face the people. Finally I would force myself to go inside and sit in a corner. I was quite thin then, and young, and most of the people were middle-aged. Someone would say, "Where's the organizer?" And I would pipe up, "Here I am." Then they would say in Spanish -- these were very poor people and we hardly spoke anything but Spanish -- "Ha! This kid?" Most of them said they were interested, but the hardest part was to get them to start pushing themselves, on their own initiative.

The idea was to set up a meeting and then get each attending person to call his own house meeting, inviting new people -- a sort of chain letter effect. After a house meeting I would lie awake going over the whole thing, playing the tape back, trying to see why people laughed at one point, or why they were for one thing and against another. I was also learning to read and write, those late evenings. I had left school in the 7th grade after attending 67 different schools, and my reading wasn't the best.

At our first organizing meeting we had 368 people: I'll never forget it because it was very important to me. You eat your heart out; the meeting is called for 7 o'clock and you start to worry about 4. You wait. Will they show up? Then the first one arrives. By 7 there are only 20 people, you have everything in order, you have to look calm. But little by little they filter in and at a certain point you know it will be a success.

After four months in Oakland, I was transferred. The chapter was beginning to move on its own, so Fred assigned me to organize the San Joaquin Valley. Over the months I developed what I used to call schemes or tricks — now I call them techniques — of making initial contacts. The main thing in convincing someone is to spend time with him. It doesn't matter if he can read, write or even speak well. What is important is that he is a man and second, that he has shown some initial interest. One good way to develop leadership is to take a man with you in your car. And it works a lot better if you're doing the driving, that way you are in charge. You drive, he sits there, and you talk. These little things were very important to me, I was caught in a big game by then, figuring out what makes people work. I found that if you work hard enough you can usually shake people into working too, those who are concerned. You work harder and they work harder still, up to a point and then they pass you. Then, of course, they're on their own.

I also learned to keep away from the established groups and so-called leaders, and to guard against philosophizing. Working with low-income people is very different from working with the professionals, who like to sit around talking about how to play politics. When you're trying to recruit a farmworker, you have to paint a little picture, and then you have to color the picture in. We found out that the harder a guy is to convince, the better leader or member he becomes. When you exert yourself to convince him, you have his confidence and he has good motivation. A lot of people who say OK right away wind up hanging around the office, taking up the workers' time.

During the McCarthy era in one Valley town, I was subjected to a lot of redbaiting. We had been recruiting people for citizenship classes at the high school when we got into a quarrel with the naturalization examiner. He was rejecting people on the grounds that they were just parroting what they learned in citizenship class. One day we had a meeting about it in Fresno, and I took along some of the leaders of our local chapter. Some redbaiting official gave us a hard time, and the people got scared and took his side. They did it because it seemed easy at the moment, even though they knew that sticking with me was the right thing to do. It was disgusting. When we left the building they walked by themselves ahead of me as if I had some kind of communicable disease. I had been working with these people for three months and I was very sad to see that. It taught me a great lesson.

That night I learned that the chapter officers were holding a meeting to review my letters and printed materials to see if I really was a Communist. So I drove out there and walked right in on their meeting. I said, "I hear you've been discussing me, and I thought it would be nice if I was here to defend myself. Not that it matters that much to you or even to me, because as far as I'm concerned you are a bunch of cowards." At that they began to apologize. "Let's forget it," they said. "You're a nice guy." But I didn't want apologies. I wanted a full discussion. I told them I didn't give a damn, but that they had to learn to distinguish fact from what appeared to be a fact because of fear. I kept them there till two in the morning. Some of the women cried. I don't know if they investigated me any further, but I stayed on another few months and things worked out.

This was not an isolated case. Often when we'd leave people to themselves they would get frightened and draw back into their shells where they had been all the years. And I learned quickly that there is no real appreciation. Whatever you do, and no matter what reasons you may give to others, you do it because you want to see it done, or maybe because you want power. And there shouldn't be any appreciation, understandably. I know good organizers who were destroyed, washed out, because they expected people to appreciate what they'd done. Anyone who comes in with the idea that farmworkers are free of sin and that the growers are all bastards, either has never dealt with the situation or is an idealist of the first order. Things don't work that way.

For more than 10 years I worked for the CSO. As the organization grew, we found ourselves meeting in fancier and fancier motels and holding expensive conventions. Doctors, lawyers and politicians began joining. They would get elected to some office in the organization and then, for all practical purposes, leave intent on using the CSO for their own prestige purposes, these "leaders," many of them, lacked the urgency we had to have. When I became general director I began to press for a program to organize farmworkers into a union, an idea most of the leadership opposed. So I started a revolt within the CSO. I refused to sit at the head table at meetings, refused to wear a suit and tie, and finally I even refused to shave and cut my hair. It used to embarrass some of the professionals. At every meeting I got up and gave my standard speech: we shouldn't meet in fancy motels, we were getting away from the people, farmworkers had to be organized. But nothing happened. In March of '62 I resigned and came to Delano to begin organizing the Valley on my own.

By hand I drew a map of all the towns between Arvin and Stockton --

86 of them, including farming camps -- and decided to hit them all to get a small nucleus of people working in each. For six months I traveled around, planting an idea. We had a simple questionnaire, a little card with space for name, address and how much the worker thought he ought to be paid. My wife, Helen, mimeographed them, and we took our kids for two or three day jaunts to these towns, distributing the cards door-to-door and to camps and groceries.

Some 80,000 cards were sent back from eight Valley counties. I got a lot of contacts that way, but I was shocked at the wages the people were asking. The growers were paying $1 and $1.15, and maybe 95 per cent of the people thought they should be getting only $1.25. Sometimes people scribbled messages on the cards: "I hope to God we win" or "Do you think we can win?" or "I'd like to know more." So I separated the cards with the pencilled notes, got in my car and went to those people.

We didn't have any money at all in those days, none for gas and hardly any for food. So I went to people and started asking for food. It turned out to be about the best thing I could have done, although at first it's hard on your pride. Some of our best members came in that way. If people give you food, they'll give you their hearts. Several months and many meetings later we had a working organization, and this time the leaders were the people.

None of the farmworkers had collective bargaining contracts, and I thought it would take ten years before we got that first contract. I wanted desparately to get some color into the movement, to give people something they could identify with, like a flag. I was reading some books about how various leaders discovered what colors contrasted and stood out the best. The Egyptians had found that a red field with a white circle and a black emblem in the center crashed into your eyes like nothing else. I wanted to use the Aztec eagle in the center, as on the Mexican flag. So I told my cousin Manuel, "Draw an Aztec eagle." Manuel had a little trouble with it, so we modified the eagle to make it easier for people to draw.

The first big meeting of what we decided to call the National Farm Workers Association was held in September, 1962, at Fresno, with 287 people. We had our huge red flag on the wall, with paper tacked over it. When the time came, Manuel pulled a cord ripping the paper off the flag and all of a sudden it hit the people. Some of them wondered if it was a Communist flag, and I said it probably looked more like a neo-Nazi emblem than anything else. But they wanted an explanation, so Manuel got up and said, "When that damn eagle flies -- that's when the farmworkers' problems are going to be solved."

One of the first things I decided was that outside money wasn't going to organize people, at least not in the beginning. I even turned down a grant from a private group -- $50,000 to go directly to organize farmworkers -- for just this reason. Even when there are no strings attached, you are still compromised because you feel you have to produce immediate results. This is bad, because it takes a long time to build a movement, and your organization suffers if you get too far ahead of the people it belongs to. We set the dues at $42 a year per family, really a meaningful dues, but of the 212 we got to pay, only 12 remained by June of '63. We were discouraged at that, but not enough to make us quit.

The movement really caught on in '64. By August we had a thousand members. We'd had a beautiful 90-day drive in Corcoran, where they had the Battle of the Corcoran Farm Camp 30 years ago, and by November we had assets of $25,000 in our credit union, which helped to stabilize the membership. I had gone without pay the whole of 1963. The next year the members voted me a $40 a week salary, after Helen had to quit working in the fields to manage the credit union.

Our first strike was in May of '65, a small one but it prepared us for the big one. A farmworker from McFarland named Epifanio Camacho came to see me. He said he was sick and tired of how people working the roses were being treated, and he was willing to "go the limit." I assigned Manuel and Gilbert Padilla to hold meetings at Camacho's house. The people wanted union recognition, but the real issue, as in most cases when you begin, was wages. They were promised $9 a thousand, but they were actually getting $6.50 and $7 for grafting them. We chose the biggest company, with about 85 employees, not counting the irrigators and supervisors, and we held a series of meetings to prepare the strike and call the vote. There would be no picket line; everyone pledged on their honor not to break the strike.

Early on the first morning of the strike, we sent out 10 cars to check the people's homes. We found lights in five or six homes and knocked on the doors. The men were getting up and we'd say, "Where are you going?" They would dodge, "Oh, uh...I was just getting up, you know." We'd say, "Well, you're not going to work, are you?" And they'd say no. Dolores Huerta, who was driving the green panel truck, saw a light in one house where four rose-workers lived. They told her they were going to work, even after she remnded them of their pledge. So she moved the truck so it blocked the driveway, turned off the key, put it in her purse and sat there alone.

That morning the company foreman was madder than hell and refused to talk to us. None of the grafters had shown up for work. At 10:30 we started to go to the company office, but it occurred to us that maybe a woman would have a better chance. So Dolores knocked on the office door, saying, "I'm Dolores Huerta from the National Farm Workers Association." "Get out!" the man said, "you Communist. Get out!" I guess they were expecting us, because as Dolores stood arguing with him the cops came and told her to leave. She left.

For two days the fields were idle. On Wednesday they recruited a group of Filipinos from out of town who knew nothing of the strike, maybe 35 of them. They drove through escorted by three sheriff's patrol cars, one in front, one in the middle and one at the rear with a dog. We didn't have a picket line, but we parked across the street and just watched them go through, not saying a word. All but seven stopped working after half an hour, and the rest had quit by mid-afternoon.

The company made an offer the evening of the fourth day, a package deal that amounted to a 120 per cent wage increase, but no contract. We wanted to hold out for a contract and more benefits, but a majority of the roseworkers wanted to accept the offer and go back. We are a democratic union so we had to support what they wanted to do. They had a meeting and voted to settle. Then we had a problem with a few militants who wanted to hold out. We had to convince them to go back to work, as a united front, because otherwise they would be canned. So we worked -- Tony Orendain and I, Dolores and Gilbert, Jim Drake and all the organizers -- knocking on doors till two in the morning, telling people, "You have to go back or you'll lose your job." And they did. They worked.

Our second strike, and our last before the big one at Delano, was in the grapes at Martin's Ranch last summer. The people were getting a raw deal there, being pushed around pretty badly. Gilbert went out to the field, climbed on top of a car and took a strike vote. They voted unanimously to go out. Right away they started bringing in strikebreakers, so we launched a tough attack on the labor contractors, distributed leaflets portraying them as really low characters. We attacked one -- Luis Campos -- so badly that he just gave up the job, and he took 27 of his men out with him. All he asked was that we distribute another leaflet reinstating him in the community. And we did. What was unusual was that the grower would talk to us. The grower kept saying, "I can't pay. I just haven't got the money." I guess he must have found the money somewhere, because we were asking $1.40 and we got it.

We had just finished the Martin strike when the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) started a strike against the grape growers, DiGiorgio, Schenley liquors and small growers, asking $1.40 an hour and 25 cents a box. There was a lot of pressure from our members for us to join the strike, but we had some misgivings. We didn't feel ready for a big strike like this one, one that was sure to last a long time. Having no money — just $87 in the strike fund -- meant we'd have to depend on God knows who.

Eight days after the strike started -- it takes time to get 1,200 people together from all over the Valley — we held a meeting in Delano and voted to go out. I asked the membership to release us from the pledge not to accept outside money, because we'd need it now, a lot of it. The help came. It started because of the close, and I would say even beautiful relationship that we've had with the Migrant Ministry for some years. They were the first to come to our rescue, financially and in every other way, and they spread the word to other benefactors.

We had planned, before, to start a labor school in November. It never happened, but we have the best labor school we could ever have, in the strike. The strike is only a temporary condition, however. We have over 3,000 members spread out over a wide area, and we have to service them when they have problems. We get letters from New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, California, from farmworkers saying, "We're getting together and we need an organizer." It kills you when you haven't got the personnel and resources. You feel badly about not sending an organizer because you look back and remember all the difficulty you had in getting two or three people together, and here they're together. Of course, we're training organizers, many of them younger than I was when I started in CSO. They can work 20 hours a day, sleep four and be ready to hit it again; when you get to be 39 it's a different story.

The people who took part in the strike and the march have something more than their material interest going for them. If it were only material, they wouldn't have stayed on the strike long enough to win. It is difficult to explain. But it flows out in the ordinary things they say. For instance, some of the younger guys are saying, "Where do you think's going to be the next strike?" I say, "Well, we have to win in Delano." They say, "We'll win, but where do we go next?" I say, "Maybe most of us will be working in the fields." They say, "No, I don't want to work in the fields. I want to organize. There are a lot of people that need our help." So I say, "You're going to be pretty poor then, because when you strike you don't have much money." They say they don't care about that.

And others are saying, "I have friends who are working in Texas. If we could only help them." It is bigger, certainly, than just a strike. And if this spirit grows within the farm labor movement, one day we can use the force that we have to help correct a lot of things that are wrong in this society. But that is for the future. Before you can run, you have to learn to walk.

There are vivid memories from my childhood -- what we had to go through because of low wages and the conditions, basically because there was no union. I suppose if I wanted to be fair I could say that I'm trying to settle a personal score. I could dramatize it by saying that I want to bring social justice to farmworkers. But the truth is that I went through a lot of hell, and a lot of people did. If we can even the score a little for the workers then we are doing something. Besides, I don't know any other work I like to do better than this. I really don't, you know.

(Reprinted with permission from Ramparts Magazine, July, 1966.)

Discussion Questions

1. Why was it difficult for Cesar Chavez to become an organizer? Why did he do it? What did he want to achieve? What did he give up to do it?

2. What qualities would someone need to learn to become a good organizer? What techniques did Cesar develop?

3. Why do you think the guy who was initially harder to convince became more dedicated than the ones who said o.k. right away?

4. Why do you think people labeled Cesar a Communist? Was he? Why didn't the group support him when he was aroused?

5. What inconsistency between CSO's goals and its structure did Cesar point out? Why did he care?

6. What were some of the things that Cesar did that took a great deal of courage?

7. What was the reaction of his wife to his work?

8. Why is a strike a difficult practice to use? Why did it become necessary to use it?

9. Why do people join a union like the National Farmworkers Association? What inspired people to sacrifice and become organizers?

10. Were Cesar's tactics consistent with his goals? Was he effective? Why?

Handout 11: Student Freeze Campaign

(Some passages are from Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace, Educators for Social Responsibility, "Student Freeze Campaign," by Vanessa Kirsch and Jon Klavens: p.334-5. Quotes are from "Student Freeze Campaign: November 1982 - June 1983," by Jon Klavens.)

In December 1982 eight members of S.T.O.P. Nuclear War began thinking about what they as high school students could do about the arms race. Together the group came to the conclusion that the most powerful impact they could have would be to raise students' voices to a national level by involving thousands of non-voting freeze supporters across the country in a petition campaign. The campaign was an effort to turn the anxieties of these students into action by encouraging them to sign a statement supporting the nuclear weapons freeze.

The campaign organizers asked local peace groups to provide them with a $1000 grant and a mailing list of over 2,000 people, to whom they sent a petition and cover letter.

After much debate, the students decided on the following statement for their petition:

> "IN SUPPORT OF A NUCLEAR WEAONS FREEZE
>
> We, the undersigned high school students of the United States, demand an immediate mutual and verifiable freeze on the production, testing and deployment of all nuclear weapons as a first step toward their reduction.
>
> Our lives and the lives of our children must not be jeopardized by decisions made today.
>
> We are the voters of tomorrow; we demand the right to be heard."

One of the student organizers reflected about the early months of the campaign:

> "We had no leader in our first months, we did not even have any form or rational organization such as committees or task groups. A decision to change a certain word in the statement or cover letter, a decision on the next meeting time or place, a decision as to what should be done next, were all decisions made by everybody. In addition, different students volunteered, from week to week, to do different things.
>
> "It was in this stage that, although somewhat unseasoned and inefficient, we had our best experience working together as a group. Around the end of January, the group lost its momentum. Next steps had not been carefully planned before two

> organizers left to spend February on a French exchange program. As a result, nothing substantial occurred in February and it wasn't until mid-March that the group pulled together again.
>
> "One person should have been in charge of arranging for small groups of organizers and other STOP people to go and speak to students at public, private, and parochial high schools in Newton, other suburbs, and in Boston. As it was, other STOP members did not become involved and education and outreach were absent.
>
> "It would have been extremely easy at that point for many of the organizers to simply let the campaign go to rest, however, by mid-March, several thousand signatures and many encouraging letters from students and teachers had arrived. We had a new sense of responsibility...to the thousands of students who were expressing their wish to be heard."

The group found out that not only did the student Freeze Campaign give students the opportunity to express their views, but in many schools it inspired dialogue about the issue, dramatically increased concern and awareness, and encouraged students to take an active role in their communities.

The Newton students had to continually learn more about the government that they were trying to influence. As Jon Klavens, one of the organizers reports:

> "Telephone calls and visits were made to various disarmament groups in the area. It helped a lot to give people a 30-second briefing on what the Student Freeze Campaign was and then ask what might be important to do during the next few months. A phone call to one Massachusetts Freeze office didn't have anything useful to offer. Council for a Livable World, on the other hand, was extremely useful, for after a phone call and a visit, we had made a friend there who could tell us about the legislative process, his lobbying experience, and introduce us to the Council's resources: voting records, swing-vote lists, etc."

The students also had to organize to gather signatures in their own area:

> "On Saturday, April 9, Greg White and I (Jon) went to the STOP conference at Amherst (Mass.) Regional High School. We set up a table with petitions, cover letters, and blank forms, where people could add themselves to our mailing list. We also spent a lot of time circulating among students and teachers, between workshops and during lunch, in order to talk up the campaign.
>
> "For the Boston STOP conference the next Saturday at Cambridge Rindge and Latin School in Cambridge, Mass., we were

> more numerous and more organized. Our resident artist handmade a 4'x7' Student Freeze Campaign banner on the back of an ad poster from his father's veal business. We had brought buttons with us to sell."

The group spent time discussing what it was going to do next. What should be done with the signatures? As one participant wrote in a journal on the campaign,

> "Each Senator and Representative should receive photocopies of all the signed signatures from his state. How?
>
> "We can send them by mail.
>
> "Wouldn't sending them by mail be just a tad undramatic, equally unexciting, and maybe ineffective?
>
> "Maybe. Perhaps we could get Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) to come to Boston, publicly present him with a pile of paper, and ask him to present it on the Senate floor, and perhaps enter it into the Congressional Record.
>
> "Alright, that would be fantastic, we wouldn't have to go all the way to the Capitol, but then the Student Freeze Campaign would be connected to Kennedy, a controversial politician who was graduated from high school much too long ago. Also, Wally Cholmers of the Freeze Foundation in DC told us that nuclear freeze petition presentations were old hat by now and really not newsworthy. And Jerome Grossman of the Council advised us to remain somewhat autonomous. We haven't had much help from adults yet, why don't we safeguard our pure student image?
>
> "That sounds good, but then we'll have to go to Washington, D.C. Who shall we try and see in D.C.?
>
> "Wendy Silverman from the D.C. office of Physicians for Social Responsibility tells us today (May 4) the D.C. community believes the House will pass a freeze resolution by the end of the week. Therefore, let's focus on those senators whom the Council thinks are swing votes."

On June 20th and 21st, students from Massachusetts (S.T.O.P.), New York (Students for Peace), Delaware (Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), and Pennsylvania went to Washington, D.C. to present 28 Senate aides with the 12,000 signatures they had collected. The day they chose was a very important one: it was the day that Senators Kennedy and Hatfield were presenting their freeze resolution to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. The Student Freeze Campaign was the only group lobbying for a freeze at that critical time. Later that day a Washington freeze campaigner reported that several aides had subsequently told him that the lobbying efforts of the informed and sincere student delegation had made a big impression in Washington.

TIPS ON LOBBYING

(from NETWORK, a Catholic social justice lobby, Merkle Building, 806 Rhode Island Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20018.)

1. Introduce yourself and say what you want to talk about -- what issue or issues and what legislation.

2. Ask what his/her position is on the legislation and why. Are they a cosponsor? How will they vote?

3. Often you might be talking of a bill the Member doesn't know well. Be prepared to explain the bill briefly and ask if he/she wants more information.

4. Are they hearing from opponents? If so, what are their arguments, and what groups are involved?

5. Are they hearing from supporters? If so, what are their arguments, and what groups are involved?

6. Do their party leaders have positions on the bill? Does their state group (in the House) or any other Congressional group (Black Caucus, Rural Caucus, Women's Caucus, etc.) have positions? What is their influence likely to be? Have they heard any message from the Administration on the bill?

7. Does the Member know any key House Members or Senators who should be contacted in reference to getting favorable action on the bill?

DO'S

1. Do learn Members' committee assignments and where their specialties lie. If possible, lobby them on upcoming subcommittee and committee issues.

2. Do present the need for what you're asking the Congress Member to do. Argue from data or from cases you know.

3. Do relate situations in his/her home state or district to legislation.

4. Do -- in the case of voting records -- ask about why he/she voted the way he/she did. Votes are complex, but the final consequence is up or down and therefore public knowledge.

5. Do show openness to knowledge of counterarguments.
6. Do admit you don't know. Offer to find out and send information back to the office.
7. Do record memo on the visit and hand it in to lobby office.
8. Do follow up visit with a thank you note and share your reflections on what you felt about the interview (positive and negative responses).
9. Do spend time even when Member has position against yours. You can lessen the intensity of his/her opposition.

DON'TS

1. Don't overload a Congressional lobby visit with too many issues. One visit for one or two topics.
2. Don't confront, threaten, pressure or beg.
3. Don't speak with moralistic tone.
4. Don't be argumentative; speak with calmness and commitment so as not to put him/her on the defensive.
5. Don't use easy ideological arguments.
6. Don't overstate the case. Members are very busy.
7. Don't expect Members of Congress to be specialists; their schedule and work load make them generalists -- hopefully, open to listening.
8. Don't be put off by smokescreens or long-winded answers. Bring him/her back to the point. Keep control of the visit.
9. Don't make promises you can't deliver on.
10. Don't leave the interview without leaving a position or fact sheet in the office.

The students had spent time preparing for their lobbying meetings. As Jon Klavens reports:

> "Mid-morning, Shelley Berman, who had chaperoned trips somewhat like this...told us how one goes about lobbying. It was extremely lucky to have found Shelley, and it would have been a mistake to go without someone to serve as a solid resource.
>
> "Group leaders were then appointed, and students chose which leaders they wanted to be with, as long as there were no more than 6 to a group.
>
> "Once in groups, students first discussed why they thought there should be a nuclear weapons freeze. They then tried to (1) identify 3 major reasons why a senator should support the Kennedy-Hatfield Resolution; (2) think of questions to ask the senator/aide; and (3) form an initial statement.
>
> "Each group was then given a 'Tips on Lobbying' sheet, every point of which they considered as applied to their meeting plan.
>
> "It was a day for learning quickly. Students learned what they did and did not know about the arms race. Due to an outdated list of office numbers, many groups learned the importance of early arrivals and an open mind, when it came time to figure out how the numbering system in the office buildings worked. The Hart building's numbering system was especially resistant to reason. In addition, all groups learned the caught-out-of-constituency blues, as there was a certain reluctance on the part of Senators and aides to listen to those who were not their constituents. The lobby would have been much more effective had there been students from more states of undecided senators."

Two students spent most of the day at the Freeze Foundation, making initial and follow-up phone calls to press contacts. They would sometimes leave up to five numbers at which they could try to reach the group. Nevertheless, calls started streaming in to the foundation from NBC, CBS, NPR, etc.

What made the Student Freeze Campaign so successful was the way it was organized. All of the organizers were asked to identify the skills they could best contribute to the whole group. Some of these skills were the ability to communicate with the media and organize outreach, manage finances, coordinate large numbers of people, and keep a direction within the group. Although each person shared his/her different skills, it was necessary for all to take responsibility for participation in group support, communication, and problem-solving.

The Student Freeze Campaign was also a success because organizers of the project were able to envision a long-term goal of a peaceful future, and hold onto their vision, while at the same time recognizing that change happens slowly. Students realized that even though the senators would probably not give a direct response to their efforts, each action and concern on the part of the students could in the future be a factor or a catalyst in changing a "no" vote into a "yes".

Everyone who worked on this project had the long-range goal of achieving peace, but the organizers decided to narrow the goal to a single issue which would be more manageable, particularly for students. The organizers felt that by doing this, their immediate goal could be more easily reached, and a very important first step could be taken to help students voice their concerns.

Although in the beginning, the Student Freeze Campaign had an obvious goal of making a national statement, students found that the campaign fulfilled more than this intended goal. It successfully empowered students to become leaders in their communities, and gave them the opportunity to learn to communicate with others, participate in the political process, and voice their concerns. As a spin-off result it produced another organization, SAVE (Students Allied for Voter Education) Our Future, which will focus its efforts on organizing a voter registration drive among high school and college students to bring the message home that students can and will act.

It became clear to those students who participated that not only do young people who are not yet old enough to vote have the right to influence decisions that will profoundly affect their lives and the lives of their children, but they have the responsibility to act. 12,000 students across the country lived up to that responsibility. As they said to the senators, "Our legislators must listen to us; it is their duty to represent our views, even if we cannot vote now. We are all United States citizens and many of us will be voting soon."

One student commented on the entire campaign: "I cannot put enough emphasis on the education part of the Student Freeze Campaign. Many students learned a great deal about the concept of a nuclear weapons freeze, but that is not what I am talking about. Rather than simply spreading the doomsday word of fact and figure, we learned to deal critically and constructively with our own hope. We learned to make hope more tangible by learning to draft statements as a group, to seal 10 envelopes in 30 seconds, to keep records accurately and efficiently, to use the resources of people and print in strategic planning, to employ our honesty, sincerity, and knowledge in talking to legislators, and to wield an overpowering sense of responsibility in such a way as to empower ourselves and others."

(STOP Nuclear War is an educational organization of high school students and teachers committed to reducing the threat of nuclear war.)

Discussion Questions:

1. What was the overall goal or goals of the students' campaign?
2. What projects did they decide to undertake to achieve it/them?
3. List the tactics the students used to attain their goal(s).
4. What skills did the students use while working on their project?
5. Were they successful in achieving their overall vision? Getting closer to it?

Handout 12: Profile of a Peacemaker: Dr. Martin Luther King

(From Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace, Shelley Berman, Coordinator. Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

> "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men were created equal...' I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."(1)

Dr. Martin Luther King's dream grew out of his vision of a nation in which every individual could experience his or her own personal worth, could recognize his or her own power and ability to make a difference, could participate in meaningful social change, and could live, work, and grow alongside people of any race, creed, color, economic or social background. With faith in this vision, he believed that the civil rights movement would be able "...to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."(2)

King was able to communicate his dreams, his faith, his convictions, his philosophy of nonviolence, his vision of the future through powerful words that moved people and empowered them to take action.

King's dream, however, was far from the reality experienced by black Americans in 1955, the year of the Montgomery boycott. That year King became a prominent spiritual and political leader in the struggle for civil rights.

When King arrived in Montgomery, Alabama in 1954, black people were not free economically, politically or socially. Whites and blacks moved along separate but unequal paths, as they did in most of the South. Black children attended separate and inferior schools despite the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation order. Lunch counters and other public facilities were segregated. Black people were not permitted to sit in a bus if a white person had to stand. Black people were denied jobs and the right to vote. These injustices had continued to exist over the years despite efforts by black leaders and organizations to gain freedom for black Americans -- freedoms granted under the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment in the 1860's.

Before 1955, there were two roadblocks to effective action in Montgomery -- divided leadership and a lack of active citizen involvement. Several civic groups and organizations were concerned with working for needed social change. They were not, however, united around a common effort even though their goals were similar. They also lacked the necessary support from the community. Many educated black citizens did not become actively involved because they were afraid they would lose their jobs and status in the community. Many ministers also failed to become involved, feeling that their role should be confined to 'preaching the gospel.' King felt that there was "...an even more basic force at work...a corroding sense of inferiority, which often expressed itself in a lack of self-respect.... Many minds and souls were so conditioned to the system of segregation that they submissively adjusted themselves to things as they were. This is the ultimate tragedy of segregation. It not only harms one physically but injures one spiritually."(3)

The events of December 1, 1955 dramatically altered this situation in Montgomery and became a turning point in the civil rights struggle. On that day, Rosa Parks, a seamstress and active member of the NAACP, defied MOntgomery's segregated transportation ordinance by refusing to give up her bus seat to a white person. Her arrest sparked a citywide boycott of buses by black citizens -- a boycott which lasted 382 days. As pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, King joined with other ministers, leaders of black organizations, businessmen, lawyers, teachers, and workers in a united effort to organize and carry out the boycott. He was chosen leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the organization which mobilized the black community and led the boycott. King became prominent as a powerful speaker and spiritual leader. He advocated nonviolence as a way of life and as a tactical response to aggression. To King, nonviolence was an "expression of Christianity in action." (4)

In the months ahead, King became recognized for his organizing ability, his spiritual leadership and his inspiration, but the boycott did not depend on his guidance alone. There were many other individuals and groups whose courage, perseverance, and cooperative efforts played a critical role.

Rosa Parks was one. Long before the day she refused to give up her seat, Rosa had been involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in its efforts to gain social justice through legal actions in the courts. She had also taken individual actions on her own. "I had almost a life history of being rebellious against being mistreated because of my color."(5) Several of her actions were taken on the Montgomery buses. "I had had problems with bus drivers over the years, because I didn't see fit to pay my money into the front and then go around to the back.... Sometimes...I had been evicted from the bus. One of the things that made this get so much publicity was the fact that the police were called in and I was placed under arrest. See, if I had just been evicted from the bus and he hadn't placed me under arrest or had any charges brought against me, it probably could have been just another incident."(6)

Another important individual was E.D. Nixon, one of the most influential leaders of the boycott and for many years an active member of the NAACP and outspoken leader in the community. He had worked with Rosa Parks for many years in the NAACP. When she was arrested, Nixon convinced Rosa to let the NAACP take her case before the courts to test the legality of Alabama's laws requiring segregation on buses. Nixon chose Rosa Parks because she was respected in the community, because she was committed, and because she showed little fear in times of stress.

"Her character was impeccable, her dedication deep-rooted...and she was calm in all situations" -- important qualities in a court of law. Nixon anticipated that her positive image could also contribute to widespread public attention and support within the Montgomery community and beyond.

Following the arrest of Rosa Parks, there was talk of violence among many of Montgomery's 50,000 black citizens. In an effort to channel and mobilize this growing outrage, several leaders proposed a boycott of the city's segregated buses. The idea was accepted at a meeting of black community leaders. A mass meeting was planned to involve many more black citizens and to plan further action.

Nixon contacted a reporter for the Montgomery Advertiser, a man he knew personally, and told him that if he would promise to write a good story, he (Nixon) would fill him in on a 'hot lead'. The Avertiser ran the story, quoting from a leaflet Nixon had given the reporter -- a leaflet which was circulating in the black neighborhoods. It stated "...don't ride the bus to work, to town, to school, or any place, Monday, December 5... Another Negro woman has been arrested and put in jail because she refused to give up her bus seat... Come to a mass meeting Monday at 7:00 p.m. at the Holt Street Baptist Church for further instructions." "By reprinting the leaflet...the Advertiser -- as Nixon had anticipated when he tipped off its reporter -- had in effect distributed the leaflet to most of the black households in Montgomery."(8)

"Meanwhile, a subcommittee contacted the city's Negro taxicab companies, which agreed to place their 210 taxis at the disposal of the boycott, charging riders the equivalent of their normal bus fare. On Sunday morning the call was sounded from every Negro pulpit. By the afternoon, in one way or another, virtually everyone knew of the boycott scheduled for the next day.

"Monday came. Mrs. Park was tried, found guilty and fined ten dollars plus four dollars in costs. She appealed the decision. The boycott took hold with extraordinary effectiveness. Not more than a handful of Negroes rode the buses even during the peak of traffic. Many buses that would normally have been crammed were empty, and many others carried only white passengers. Thousands of Negroes rode in taxis and in car pools. Thousands more walked. A cautious estimate was that the boycott was eighty per cent effective, a fact that was disquieting to city officials and alarming to Montgomery City Lines, seventy per cent of whose passengers were Negroes.

"On Monday evening, some 5,000 Negroes joined in the mass meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church, fired with enthusiasm. Earlier in the day the leadership group had met and founded the Montgomery Improvement Association, with Martin Luther King -- to his great surprise -- as president. They decided to draft a list of grievances and continue the boycott until they were met.

"For months, all classes of people thronged the churches several evenings each week to receive spiritual sustenance and practical instruction for the ongoing struggle. During the day, one might see a Negro doctor's wife offering a ride in her shiny Cadillac to a group of domestic workers, or even an occasional white driver stopping to pick up a Negro. Letters to the editors of local newspapers, written by white people, weighed five to one in sympathy with the boycott."(9)

Transportation during the boycott was crucial. Yancy Martin, a college student, recognized its importance. He organized a group to drive along the bus stop route, pick up black boycotters, and drive them to and from work every day. "All the guys who were on my street...and a group of other folk whose parents had cars, we would all get up in the morning as early as we could." They were subjected to frequent harassment by the police, but their commitment remained strong. They clearly saw that their work made a difference. "...We saw the transportation end really being the backbone of the movement because folks had to work... We knew that in order for families to exist they had to have that money... They had to get back and forth to work."(10)

How was this year-long boycott supported financially? According to King, "week after week, wealthy or poor, the Negroes of Montgomery gave what they could... The liberal coverage of the press had carried the word of our struggle across the world... Contributions began to pour in from as far away as Tokyo... Sometimes the gift was as large as $5,000, sometimes only a single dollar bill... The largest response came from church groups -- particularly, though by no means only, Negro churches... Labor, civic, and social groups were our staunch supporters and in many communities new organizations were founded just to support the protest."

During the first few weeks of the boycott, there were few incidents of outright violence, but on January 30, 1956, King's home was bombed. His wife and child were nearly killed. King's house was surrounded by an enraged black crowd, many armed with guns, rocks, knives, sticks and bottles. "Only a spark was needed to inflame the crowd which had been driven to the edge of desperation by repeated acts of insult." Aware of that fact, King rose above his fear and anger and convinced the crowd to put down their weapons and hold onto their vision. "I want it to be known the length and breadth of the land that if I am stopped, this movement will not stop...our work will not stop...for what we are doing is just and God is with us."(12) King and other leaders of the boycott had spoken before of nonviolence, but seeing and hearing King speak passionately of love and forgiveness following this violent attempt on the life of his family touched thousands of blacks in Montgomery and many more throughout the country.

On behalf of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the NAACP filed suit in the U.S. District Court to overturn the city ordinances which maintained segregation on the buses. The law suit went to the Supreme Court. Seven months later on December 1, 1956, the Supreme Court declared Alabama's laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. The boycott ended. "The year-long struggle...had proven that the use of nonviolent resistance by a determined people was a sharp weapon in effecting social change."(13)

The success of the Montgomery boycott led many black minsters to seriously consider the idea that the theory and practice of nonviolent civil disobedience could be applied throughout the South. The result was the formation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. King was elected president.

One of the goals of SCLC was to support and assist other communities in their organization of protest campaigns in public facilities, in transportation, in education, and in voter registration. Two important campaigns were the sit-in movement and the Freedom Rides organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). These campaigns focused on nonviolent, direct actions which violated existing laws and which drew public attention to the injustice of these laws. The Montgomery boycott focused on passive resistance (refusing to ride the buses) as a means of publicizing an unjust law and exerting economic pressure.

Although they worked together on some issues, there were often sharp disagreements between the more conservative SCLC and the more militant SNCC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Easwaran, Eknath, Gandhi the Man. Nilgiri Press, 1978.
2. Franklin, John Hope & Meier, August, ed. Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982.
3. King, Martin Luther, Jr. Stride Towards Freedom: The Montgomery Story. New York: Harper & Row, 1958.
4. Lincoln, Eric. Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Hill and Wang, 1970.
5. Miller, William. Nonviolence. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.
6. Raines, Howell. My Soul is Rested. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977.
7. Sterne, Emma Gelders. I Have a Dream. New York: Knopf, 1965.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sterne, I Have a Dream, p.5.
2. Ibid.
3. King, Stride Towards Freedom, p.40.
4. Ibid., p.89.
5. Ibid., p.44.
6. Raines, My Soul is Rested, p.40.
7. King, Stride Towards Freedom, p.44.
8. Miller, Nonviolence, p.301.
9. Ibid.
10. Raines, My Soul is Rested, p.60.
11. King, Stride Towards Freedom, p.80.
12. Miller, Nonviolence, p.303.
13. Ibid., p.305.

DEVELOPING A STRATEGY

Now that students have taken a stand on an issue, they will be ready to develop a strategy for creating the desired changes. In this problem-solving activity, they will be developing both a strategy and an action plan. They will be able to understand more clearly the complex interrelationships among individuals and groups who influence decisions and how best to approach others to create change. To do this effectively, they will go through the following steps:

1. Identify key people -- who has influence, who has responsibility, and who is affected — so that they know who they will need to work with on the issue.

2. Determine the obstacles to accomplishing their goal, as well as the resources available to overcome these obstacles and ways they might build support.

3. Look at the full range of possible actions and select those they feel most effectively meet their interests and their goals.

4. Outline a plan and a time line, and establish teams and a means of coordinating their efforts.

5. Practice, through role playing, the skills they will need to use.

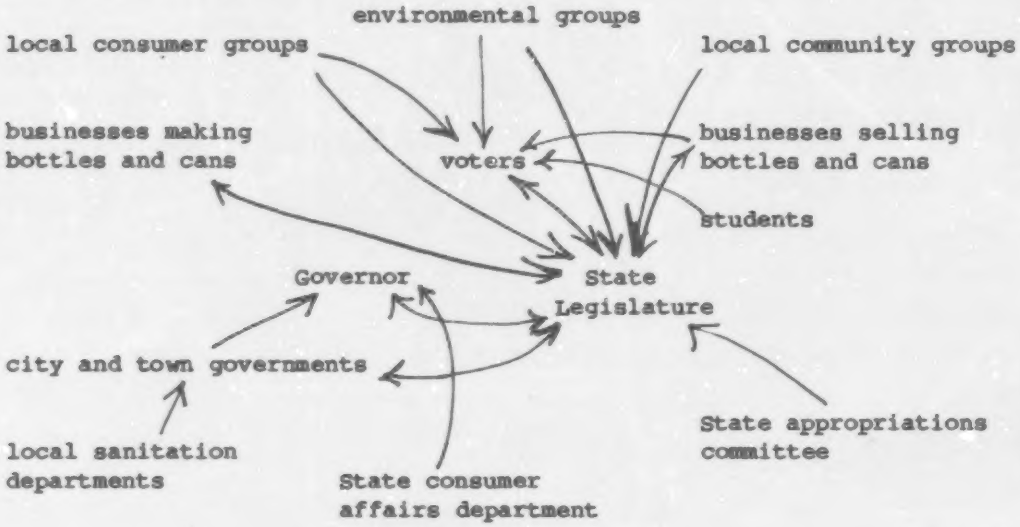
Organizing to effect change will be new for most students. We have included a handout which outlines some basic organizing principles. The suggestions we have made are different in many respects from the traditional organizing strategies of political campaigns or political action groups. We have articulated a strategy based on understanding other perspectives and points of view, finding common ground, and acting in ways that demonstrate respect for all those involved. We have chosen this strategy because it continually seeks ways to work cooperatively and because it minimizes antagonism and polarized positions — two obstacles to meaningful change.

WHO HAS POWER? WHO HAS RESPONSIBILITY? WHO IS AFFECTED?

This part of the activity will allow students to map out the relationships of those involved in the issue so that they may see effective entry points for their efforts as well as whom they might want to approach for support. It will also allow them to see that there are many people involved in any issue, and that each has his or her own interests and positions.

Begin by brainstorming a list of all the people who are either affected by the issue or who have decision-making responsibility. Have the students divide this list into those who have direct responsibility for making decisions, those who have influence on the decision-makers, and those who are affected by the decisions. The last two categories may overlap.

Next have students diagram the relationships among these people and groups, using arrows to show the direction of influence. For example, if students were attempting to promote legislation for a bottle and can bill in their state, their diagram might look like the following:


environmental groups
local consumer groups
local community groups
businesses making bottles and cans
voters
businesses selling bottles and cans
students
Governor
State Legislature
city and town governments
State appropriations committee
local sanitation departments
State consumer affairs department

Put the diagram your students develop onto a piece of posterboard or newsprint and leave it up for students to refer to throughout the planning process. Awareness of the lines of power and responsibility will make possible a more effective plan of action.

WHAT ARE THE OBSTACLES? WHAT ARE OUR RESOURCES? HOW MIGHT WE BUILD SUPPORT?

The purpose of this activity is to help the class anticipate the obstacles they will confront and identify the available resources for overcoming them. You may want to begin by exploring the concept of obstacles in general, and then brainstorm with your students the specific obstacles -- the rules, attitudes, special interests, or other difficulties — they might encounter in their efforts to create change. In the case of a bottle bill, for example, the obstacles might include the higher costs to local businesses, increased taxes to citizens, apathy among voters, etc.

Next describe the concept of resources -- supportive individuals or groups, talents of the students, services of the school such as a print shop or Xerox machine, etc. -- and brainstorm a list of resources available to the class. Have your students look at both lists and identify those resources that seem useful in overcoming specific obstacles. Draw arrows from the resources to those obstacles. Have the students look again at the obstacle list and, anticipating the future, ask them to consider additional resources to overcome them. In this way, students can begin to understand what strengths they have, at what points they might have easier access to decision makers, and what actions might be most important in achieving their goals.

ORGANIZING FOR ACTION

Before you actually begin to brainstorm and plan actions, we would suggest that you spend some time discussing how people feel when they are asked to change something and the ways that people can be approached so that they are the most supportive and least defensive. This discussion may influence the students' choice of action by pointing them in the direction of those actions where less opposition is anticipated.

You may want to begin by sharing with students that change is risky and hard for people and that people are often satisfied with leaving things the way they are. If we, as a class, are asking people to change we should have some understanding of what that might mean to them and how we can best approach them. Then ask students to think of a time when someone either asked them to change something or insisted that they change something. This could be an experience with a friend, their family, or in school. Discuss with them whether it was difficult to change, if they resented it, and what made it difficult. Did they later see the benefits of the change or was it still a problem for them? What was it in the way that they were approached that made it either easier or harder for them to change? What made them want to dig in their heels? What made them want to change willingly? You may want to make a list of those things that made it easier to change and those that made it harder.

Out of this will come a sense that when people are treated with respect, listened to, and understood, it is easier for them to change. When they are threatened, people often resist and resent the change, even when they recognize its benefits. You may want to have students record some of their thoughts about this discussion in their journals.

Next, distribute Handout 13: "How to Get Things Done," and discuss how this approach is similar to or different from the tactics used in the four examples at the beginning of this chapter. How consistent are these with what you felt about your own changes? How consistent are these with what often takes place when people try to create change? In what ways do you agree with these principles? In what ways do you disagree? If you would like to take this discussion of tactics further, see the chapter on "Peacemakers" in the 7-12 section of ESR's curriculum publication, Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace, paying special attention to the section on Social Activists.

Handout 13: How to Get Things Done

Organizing is the art of making something happen. Making a difference in the world is a challange and a risk. You start off with an idea about the way you would like things to be and then you take the risk of trying to bring that idea into reality. Organizing is also a means of creative expression. It is adding something new to make the world a better place.

Organizing skills do not come naturally. Like anything else, organizing takes time, persistence and practice. It also takes courage and, most of all, compassion for those around you. To help you be a better organizer, think about the following organizing principles:

THE DIALOGUE PRINCIPLE: When trying to create change it is best to understand and empathize with those you are asking to change rather than to antagonize them. While an organizer takes a stand on an issue, he or she always needs to be able to say "I may be wrong" and be willing to listen and, when appropriate, change his or her position. Change is hard for most people. Everyone has good reasons for doing things the way they do even if we find it hard to agree with those reasons. While we might feel that something is unfair or unjust and feel angry about it, the challenge of a good organizer is to be able to listen to and understand other people's perspectives and to express the problem in terms that they can appreciate and share. The best way to do this is to talk to people in a way that makes your concerns and interests clear and asks for their help and support in solving the problem. Instead of telling people what you want them to do, ask them to work with you on solving the problem you both share. For example, if the problem is that very few jobs are available to students, rather than going to local businesses and insisting that they create jobs for you, go to them and explain the problem and ask for their advice and help in solving it. This approach makes people feel appreciated, involved and important. It demands from the organizer humility, patience and a willingness to ask for help.

THE SUPPORT PRINCIPLE: Organizing is hard work. It is always more effective for a group of people to work together to make a difference than for someone to work alone. But working together takes talent and effort. A good organizer builds support both within the group and also in the greater community. When you are working together in a group, it is easy to think about the tasks that need to be accomplished rather than the people accomplishing those tasks. What makes people feel good is being appreciated. Make sure that you take the time to acknowledge peoples' efforts. Find out what talents and interests people have and find ways to best use those in your efforts. If someone takes on something that no one really wants to do, thank them for being willing to do it. When someone accomplishes a task, have the group take the time to notice and thank them. People do their best work when they know it matters to others and when they will be noticed and appreciated.

It also helps to build support outside your group. Ask other people for advice and help. Consult early with those people who have decision-making influence and responsibility, so that they feel included. Involving people in solving the problem with you often enlists their support for your efforts later on. Remember, above all, to thank them for their help. Thank you notes are not often forgotten.

THE LEADERSHIP PRINCIPLE: The most effective leader is the one who can work with a group in such a way that when the group has finished its work, the members feel they have done it themselves. Often we see leaders as directors and authority figures. In organizing, the leader is actually a good facilitator rather than a director. This person shares leadership with others rather than controlling and dictating to the group. Rather than ordering and criticizing, this person listens to people's opinions and takes them into account, encourages people, notices their work, and appreciates them. This person helps people work together toward their common goal. The most challenging role of this leader is to keep the group on track and working effectively. This is accomplished by returning the discussions back to the subject, helping the group develop a schedule, and asking people how they are doing on their individual tasks. This leadership style is based on a desire for the group to work well together, to enjoy each other and to get the job done, rather than on a desire for power and recognition. What is unique about this type of leadership is that it is in each and every one of us.

THE PRINCIPLE OF APPROPRIATE ACTION: It is important to choose actions carefully. If you are doing something to benefit a specific group of people, first make sure that what you are doing is what they want. Second, make sure that your timing is right. The right action at the wrong time never works very well -- a bit like asking a favor from someone who is angry at you. Third, be realistic about what you can do. Use your resources and time effectively. Don't try to do everything. In many cases your efforts will be one part of a larger effort. Find the piece that best fits the group's talents and interests. For example, if you wanted to help improve the care for the elderly in your community, you would want to find out what you could best contribute rather than taking on the whole issue. Finally, as part of your task, include letting the community know about your efforts. Let people know what you are doing through the newspaper, TV and radio. This will not only bring you additional support but will also show others that people can make a difference and are doing so.

THE PERSISTENCE PRINCIPLE: Organizing is challenging. Often it means doing things we are not used to or may not feel skilled at, such as talking to people in authority, analyzing statistics and information, or taking a stand. Whenever people do new things it feels hard and risky. A good organizer knows that he or she will make mistakes and learn from them, but that what counts is persistence and "hanging in there." The satisfaction of organizing comes from taking on a challenge and meeting it. Organizers also need to be flexible. Circumstances and plans change, and you need to be able to bend and adjust and learn as you go.

THE MEANS-ARE-THE-ENDS PRINCIPLE: What we create will reflect the way we go about creating it. If you want to create a world in which people respect each other, then you must respect each other while you go about creating it. If you intimidate, antagonize, and coerce, then you may get what you want, but you will also get resentment, anger and another battle later on. While it is appropriate to confront injustice, it is equally important to confront it justly. As a society, we progress only as fast as all of us progress; therefore, help people understand and join in your efforts.

CREATING POSSIBILITIES FOR ACTION

With all this as background, the class will be better able to choose actions that are appropriate to what they would like to accomplish. They are now ready to brainstorm a wide range of possibilities and select the ones they feel would be most effective.

Begin by distributing Handout 14: A Range of Actions. Discuss with them the range of actions. Explain to them that they are about to do a special brainstorming exercise. This brainstorm will help them be more creative. Write the statement of the problem on the board and have them review the decision-making diagram they made earlier. Explain that they are going to be brainstorming the actions they could take as a class. During this brainstorm they can even suggest what seem to be absurd or ridiculous ideas because sometimes out of the most fanciful ideas and associations come the most concrete and effective plans. Record all ideas on the board as they come up. Explain that no idea should be criticized and all ideas will be accepted even though they might sound silly or funny. One person can speak at a time and if several hands are up ask them to record their idea on paper so that they won't forget it. Explain that they can suggest additions to other people's ideas as well as new ideas. If this is an election time and if it is appropriate to link their efforts to the elections, remind them of this. Then begin the brainstorm and continue until the class's energy runs down. For most classes this is a high energy activity with a great deal of laughter. You may at times have to help them stay focused and listen to each other's suggestions.

Before narrowing the list, engage students in a discussion about how consistent the goals and tactics should be and ask whether the class should address an immediate problem or its causes.

Objectives and tactics are intertwined and dependent upon one another. The discussions necessary to decide what action the group will actually attempt should concentrate on one, then the other, always trying to keep both in mind and continually reviewing each. Several general questions, such as the following, about the relationship of objectives to tactics should be raised throughout this unit to continually help clarify the students' understanding:

> Are our tactics consistent with our goals? If, for example, we want to work to increase local participation on a certain issue and believe that more members of our community should be allowed and encouraged to speak out, do our tactics provide for people with varying views to do so? Or, are we encouraging more participation by some people and intimidating, discouraging, or, at best, failing to encourage others?
>
> Do we want to focus our efforts on solving an immediate problem? Or, do we want to focus on the broader context and causes of that problem? A dilemma which portrays this decision-making difficulty is apparent in working on hunger issues, for example: Do we want to feed some people who are hungry right now in our own community? To

> do this, we could organize a Thanksgiving food collection and distribution. If we concentrate on the immediate problem, however, have we ignored its causes and done anything to prevent hunger in other places or later if and when our involvement ends? On the other hand, if we concentrate only on long term goals, such as the causes of hunger, will we be too late to help some people who are desperate right now? Is there a way to work on both short and long term goals? Should we place more emphasis on one or the other? How do we decide? Or, should we choose one aspect of the issue we can do something about? Another way of wording this question could be: To what extent are we working to change a symptom and to what extent are we working to change its cause?

This discussion is not meant to place more value on students working toward a long-term solution than on the immediate alleviation of a problem. Both are very important, and in some cases students may be able to address both. While it is not possible for students to work on every aspect of an issue, it is important that they be conscious of the limits of any plan or idea as they make their decisions. Whichever direction they choose, they will learn a great deal.

After this discussion, have each person select five actions they view as both efffective and interesting. Some of the ideas on the board may need elaboration. You can suggest to them that they select an idea even if it seems unclear at this point. Either in small groups or as a class have them tally the actions that most interest them. If an idea is interesting yet unclear, now would be the time to flesh it out. Discuss with them which of these actions would be most effective and appropriate and which ones the class might be able to undertake and accomplish. Narrow the ideas down to between three and five. Refer to the earlier activity on choosing an issue for a method for doing this. At this point the class should determine whether they all want to work on one effort or divide into groups to do different projects. Check who would be interested in working on which of the ideas and if appropriate drop those which have the least interest. If the class has chosen to do several actions, divide them into interest groups so that they can begin planning their efforts.

Handout 14: A Range of Actions

There are a large number of options open to any individual or group which wants to make a difference on a particular issue. The following list does not include all of them by any means but is a starting place for ideas:

Write letters to people in power and to people who wield influence.

Volunteer to work for an organization which deals with your issue.

Volunteer to raise money for an organization that is working on your issue.

Volunteer to work for a candidate who is running on a platform that includes your issue.

Form a new organization that will work on your issue.

Hold an assembly or public meeting to inform people about your issue.

Write an expose about your issue and see if your town or school newspaper will publish it.

Compose songs to express your opinion.

Create sculptures or other art forms to express your sentiments and opinions and to draw attention to the issue.

Provide a service to people in need.

Make a videotape or slide show as a visual testimony to the problem you are addressing.

Publish and distribute a news sheet on the issue to raise awareness about the issue in your school or community.

Carry a sandwich board to advertise your concern.

Design a poster that will raise awareness about your issue.

Campaign for your issue or candidates in favor of your stand.

Work on voter registration and "get-out-the-vote" campaigns.

Hold a rally to show mass support for your concern.

Participate in a walk or rally for your issue.

Raise money to help support your cause.

Create moments of reflection or hold a silent vigil to call attention to the importance of the issue.

Write or perform a skit, a dance, or a multi-media event to dramatize the importance of the issue.

Lobby with the appropriate authorities for the changes you would like to bring about.

Do a "Congress Watch" to see what actions your representatives or other government officials have taken on your issue and publicize the results.

Write editorials for your local or school newspaper to express your concern.

Hold a press conference to announce your efforts to the media.

Write a piece of legislation and have your representative submit it.

File a lawsuit against illegal practices.

Form a picket to express your concern and to draw attention to the issue.

Sponsor educational debates, round table discussions, and lectures to inform the school and public about the variety of opinion on your issue.

Hold meetings among divergent groups so as to try to settle differences between them.

Boycott a product, service or business to express non-cooperation.

Talk individually to as many people as you can about your concerns.

OUTLINING A PLAN AND PRACTICING

Now that students have identified the actions they would like to take and whether they will work on one or several, they can begin outlining a plan. Either in their working groups or as a class, have them outline as many steps as they can that they will need to take to accomplish their goal. Be as detailed as possible. Include all the people to contact, all the letters to write, all the arrangements to make. If the class is working on one project, divide them up into groups to work on specific parts of the project. When they are in groups have them determine who will do what, who should be responsible for checking in with everyone, and how the class should discuss their progress and corrdinate their efforts. Some of the items you will want to talk about are:

-- How long do we have to do this project? (Generally, students respond more energetically to a short intense period of involvement than to a long, drawn-out effort.)

-- Do we need a budget? If so, how do we raise money? from whom? Does the school have funds?

-- How will we keep track of what is being done and what needs doing? Should we choose some people to act as coordinators, committee chairpersons, recorders? If so, how?

-- Do we want to have charts up around the room showing the tasks under way, who is doing them, and the due dates?

-- Do we want to have weekly or bi-weekly meetings in which everyone reports on progress made and the difficulties encountered?

-- Would it be useful to set aside time to check on the quality of work, on style of writing, on appropriateness of actions or to allow some time for the whole group to do this? How should that be done?

-- How can we communicate with each other? Do we want to have a phone tree? Should we keep records? What kind?

-- Do we expect everyone to participate in some way? Do we have enough ways? Will students be able to choose their roles, what they like to do best, what they're best at? How will unpopular-but-necessary jobs get done?

Finally, have students discuss how they will know when they are done. This is an important question to clarify so that they can feel satisfaction at what they have accomplished.

The way you structure this discussion will depend on the age and abilities of your students. For some classes you will have to provide a great deal of help in structuring their work. In others you will act merely as an advisor.

Some of the working groups will be doing things that will take practice, such as talking to people in authority. You will want to take the time and have these students role play the conversations so that their group or the class as a whole can discuss how best to present the problem and ask for assistance. If students are writing letters, they may need to share drafts so that they can improve what they are saying. Find opportunities to do this so that others in the class can participate and so that they learn from each others' experiences.

CARRYING OUT THE PLAN

Providing suggestions for carrying out your class's plan is difficult, because each plan will be distinctly different. There are several things, however, to keep in mind to help the class progress and learn. First, be careful not to take too much control of the project. The more the project is under the direction of the students, the more empowered they will feel. It will be their project and not yours. Act as a guide and facilitator, not as a director. If your students fail at something, allow it to be a learning experience rather than a defeat or a disappointment to your expectation.

Second, because this kind of project may be new to students, you will continually have to affirm their efforts and help them express themselves. You will need to be an example for them of someone who empowers others.

Third, help them to appreciate each other as well as to evaluate each other's efforts so that they can improve what they do. Often some people will do more than others and feel resentful. You will need to help those people feel pride in what they have done and respect for those who have done less. You will also need to help those who do less or feel shy about working in groups feel appreciated for what they do. You will need to set a tone that helps people notice and appreciate what other have accomplished.

Fourth, because this may turn into an extended project, it will help if you continually draw connections between what they are learning through this project and what they are studying in class. Have them record their thoughts in their journals so that they can see what they have learned and observe the development of their own thinking. Give them ample opportunities to reflect on the process of change and on how the class members can more effectively empower each other.

Finally, no matter what problem situation your students identified and what action they chose, be sure to give public recognition to their efforts. Look for an opportunity to have someone in a position of importance cite them publicly for what they have done. Document the project with photographs. Write articles for the school and local newspapers. Present a program about the project to others in the school, to parents, and to members of the community. Have the students keep their own ongoing record of the experience to save and look back on in the future. It is important for them to take seriously their ability to make a difference, and their attitudes will be greatly influenced by the responses of others around them to their accomplishments.

OVERALL DEBRIEFING, ASSESSMENT AND APPRECIATION

Students will now have completed a fairly extensive process of deciding and acting on an issue of concern for them. The intention of this curriculum is to help them see how they can have an effect on the world, not just this once, but many times in the future. In order for them to learn to become more effective, it is useful to evaluate the experience they have just completed, to discover what it is they did well and what they would like to see improved next time. The following are some questions to ask students to guide their evaluation:

-- What went well? What did we do most effectively? What did we have the best time at? Who in our group contributed in ways which we appreciated? What was good about what they did? How did we work well together? What did we do in order to do that? Did we share leadership roles? Did we help each other out? How much did the extent of our participation make a difference in how we felt about what we did? the decisions we made? the discussions we had?

-- What could we have done to make things better? Or, if a solution is not evident, what happened that was disappointing or upsetting? Might we be able to discover something to do differently about it next time? Did we plan realistically about what we could accomplish? What was unrealistic about it? What do we know to expect next time? Did our resources hold up (money, energy, materials, etc.)? Did we discover new resources in the process? How did we deal with conflicts which arose? Was everyone satisfied with the solutions to those conflicts? If not, what could have been done differently?

-- Did everyone have a fair share of input into decisions? in the action? If not, why not? How could we have done things differently to have changed that?

-- Did we make a difference? How? How might we have been better able to make a difference? What would we need to have or do? Did you change your opinions and stands? What were some of the significant things you learned from this unit?

Finally conduct a closing exercise in which you brainstorm with the class the people who need to be thanked for their assistance. Write to these people or, even better, to their employers or supervisors to thank them and to share some of what the class learned through the project. These notes will not only help these people feel good about what they gave, but will also make it easier for other students to be involved in similar activities. You may wish to find a way that each member of your class gets acknowledged by the rest of the class. One possibility is for individuals to share times when they felt empowered by other members of the class. They have worked together on an important project. Acknowledging their struggles, their insights, and their successes is an important confirmation of the experience.

CONCLUSION

The theme of this book is that students can and should be given opportunities to take part in the significant events in their world. As teachers, we can create very powerful opportunities for our students, both in the classroom and extending into the larger world. We can help students become more aware of the vast range of possibilities for participation. We can help them understand processes of group decision making and the political process. And, we can structure ways for them to participate in the empowering experience of acting to make a real difference in the world. It is essential that we help students make the connection between who they are and what they do on the one hand, and the challenges and problems in the world around us on the other, before they grow through adolescence and into adulthood. It is our hope that the ideas in this book will help teachers continue exploring the challenge of turning student apathy and cynicism into participation and empowerment.

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY is a national, non-profit membership organization of educators, parents, and concerned individuals who believe that the nuclear age demands new approaches to education. ESR is committed to presenting divergent views in the classroom on nuclear issues, war, and peace; to dealing with young people's questions and fears about the threat of nuclear war; and to fostering citizen participation in decision making about the nuclear arms race. ESR researches students' attitudes toward nuclear issues, assesses educational materials, develops curricula, sponsors conferences and professional development programs, and provides speakers and consultation services.

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1764

BEST COPY AVAILABLE